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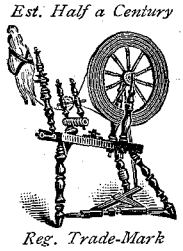

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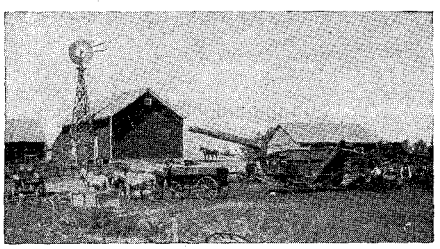

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1906

❀

Mr. Taft on the Present Issues

In support of Mr. Littlefield's candidacy for re-election to Congress as a Representative from Maine, Mr. Taft, Secretary of War, delivered at Bath, on Wednesday of last week, a most important address. It is the first utterance of Mr. Taft concerning the broad political significance of the great economic questions that are now pressing for answer. In other speeches, such as that which he delivered in North Carolina recently, he has touched upon certain aspects of these questions, but with nothing like the fullness which characterized his Maine speech. It has none of the qualities of an oration except lucidity. It should be regarded less as a speech than as a state paper. It may justly be considered an authoritative expression of the views and expectations of that element which is now and seems likely to continue in control of the Republican party. In brief, it may be called Mr. Taft's interpretation of Roosevelt Republicanism. In the course of this address Mr. Taft discussed four general topics: the trust question, the record of Congress, the revision of the tariff, and injunctions in labor controversies. To the trust question Mr. Taft devoted the larger part of his address. He affirmed at the outset that "the assembling of the savings of the many into corporate capital," so far from being an evil in itself, was a cause of comfort and prosperity. The evils of the present trust situation arise from the abuse of the instrumentalities for the combination and organization of capital, so that all the profit might go to corporate owners rather than to the public, which, by virtue of giving privileges to corporations, has a right to a fair share in the benefits which corporations confer. For the sake of clearness he divided corporations into two classes—industrial corporations and transportation corporations. With regard to the former he showed how the union of powerful interests to limit output and maintain prices had to be met by applying the principle of law that acts done with the intent and result of injuring another, though lawful when done by one person singly, may become unlawful when done "by many persons or by the use of many different instrumentalities combined." The application of this principle, he said, is the basis of all anti-trust legislation. Mr. Taft traced the history of the governmental movement against trusts, showing that it had been necessarily deliberate because of practical difficulties. His testimony to the value of recent legislation, especially to that creating the Bureau of Corporations and its efficiency, is peculiarly weighty by virtue of his ample legal knowledge. With regard to transportation corporations, specifically railroads, he showed how the evils incident to them arose from secret rates or public rebates, and had to be met by governmental regulation. He contrasted the achievements of the present Administration and Congress with empty denunciation on the one hand, and reliance upon the common law on the other. Mr. Roosevelt's unpopularity with a certain Wall Street element he attributed to "efficient interference with their plans and purposes." He agreed to the statement of Democratic leaders that Mr. Roosevelt is himself the issue in the present Congressional campaign. The Democratic leaders, he said, ask for support in order that their party may investigate the executive departments and prove their charges of graft. Mr. Taft welcomed widest publicity, but declared that "an unfair fishing excursion" would paralyze the executive branch of the Government. A Democratic House,

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he argued, would not further Mr. Roosevelt's policy, although the Democrats claim that that policy originated with them, but would hamper it; only the election of a Republican House would make it possible for that policy to be carried to a successful issue. As an additional argument for the support of the Republican party, Mr. Taft cited "the record of this Congress for great statutes, working reforms for the benefit of the public." The record he declared to be "not equaled by that of any Congress since the war."

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The Tariff and Injunctions

Although Mr. Taft argued that the way to deal with the trust question was not by attacking the protective tariff, thus repeating in another form the President's argument on the subject, he explicitly affirmed his own approval of tariff revision. These are his words:

> Speaking my individual opinion and for no one else, I believe that, since the passage of the Dingley Bill, there has been a change in the business conditions of the country making it wise and just to revise the schedules of the existing tariff.

He said that a tariff discussion during the present session of Congress would have prevented action on urgent matters; but he expressed the opinion that sentiment in favor of tariff revision was "growing in the Republican party," and added:

> How soon the feeling in favor of revision shall crystallize into action cannot be foretold, but it is certain to come, and with it those schedules of the tariff which have inequalities and are excessive will be readjusted.

Nowhere in his speech was Mr. Taft's statesmanlike foresight more evident than in this utterance. As was to be expected, he spoke in no uncertain tones about the Philippine tariff. In behalf of ultimate freedom of trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands he wisely appealed to the highest motive—that of helping a struggling people to acquire the art of self-government. Although later in his speech he defended the Senate from indiscriminate attacks, he put upon it the responsibility of opposing the "bill to give to the people of the Philippine Islands the benefit of the markets of the United States, and the people of the United States the benefit of the free markets of the Philippines." "The American people," he declared, "are determined to do the fair and just thing by their wards of the Pacific, and they will do it ultimately through their representatives in Congress." In closing, Mr. Taft took up the issue of injunctions in labor disputes raised in Maine by Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. On this subject Mr. Taft took his stand on the impregnable ground that no bill should pass which makes of laborers who break the law a privileged class. Mr. Taft expressed strongly his approval of the organization of labor, but he expressed equally strongly his disapproval of any legislation which would make it impossible to apply to labor organizations the principles of the law and the instruments of governmental control which are applicable to organizations of capital. The position which Mr. Taft has taken on this subject may arouse against him the hostility of powerful labor officials, just as his position on the subject of dealing with the abuses of corporate wealth can arouse nothing but opposition from certain corporation officials, but it is a position from which he cannot be moved. Class legislation of every sort is inimical to the legitimate interests of both the laborer and the owner of capital, as it is obnoxious to every believer in American democracy. This is not the first time in the history of the world when conflicting interests are united in seeking special privileges; and, as always, the real public leaders are those who, like Mr. Taft, are ready to incur the enmity of both interests in upholding the rights of the people at large. On the significance of Mr. Taft's exposition of the Administration's policy concerning Government regulation of corporations we comment on another page.

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Voting in Three States

At the popular primaries in Wisconsin last week James O. Davidson was chosen for the Republican nomination. His opponent, Mr. Lenroot,

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was supported by Senator La Follette. The selection of Mr. Davidson, however, does not mean a repudiation of the La Follette policy, because both men were equally committed to that policy. In fact, there was no issue except, it appears, the personal preference of the man who made of the Republican party in Wisconsin a powerful force for the control of corporations. His personal preference has been disregarded by the people, but not the principles with which he is identified. There was little interest in the Democratic primaries, at which John A. Aylward was nominated. The Republican nominee is practically certain of election. In Vermont the State election was held last week. Mr. Clement, the nominee of the Democrats and Independent Republicans, who based his campaign largely on charges of corruption and boss rule, was defeated by the candidate of the regular Republicans, Fletcher D. Proctor. The Republican majority, however, was somewhat less than normal. In South Carolina the popular primaries have been held. The result was not decisive, but it indicated a growing resentment of Senator Tillman's domination and a sentiment in favor of making the dispensary system a matter of local option. The second primaries, held after this number goes to press, will be practically equivalent to an election. If the action of the voters in these States is symptomatic, independent voting, which has been characteristic of elections for the last two years, is getting to be a habit. In connection with the subject of State politics it is worth mentioning that with the elimination of Addicks the two Republican parties of Delaware have been united by action of a joint convention. It is believed that Addicks's power in the State has departed.

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Mr. Jerome and the New York State Democrats

Alarmed by the movement to make Mr. Hearst the Democratic nominee for the Governorship of New York, a hundred men of the party, as delegates from fifty out of the sixty-one counties of the State, met in Albany last week to "repudiate boss rule," to oppose "protectionism, Socialism, and imperialism," and to promote "a full, free, and untrammeled expression of the opinion of the party in open convention assembled." Although a number of well-known Democrats were present, the chief figure of this conference was without doubt the District Attorney of New York County, Mr. William Travers Jerome. He has been regarded in many quarters as a desirable candidate for Governor; but he was not offered as such by this conference. Indeed, no candidate was suggested. In his speech Mr. Jerome pointed out the danger of a third party in representative government. It becomes a means, he said, by which men can dicker and trade with the larger parties for the purpose of getting power to which their numbers do not entitle them. He emphasized the importance of making political principle the basis of party unity; but he declared that at present the Republican party, which he characterized as normally the conservative, and the Democratic party, which he characterized as normally the liberal, had each largely lost its character. He did not attempt to formulate any distinctive principle for which his party ought to stand, except opposition to revolutionary proposals. His conclusion was that the demand at present was for "men and not measures." The people, he said, were "more afraid of the dishonesty of their own servants than of the evils which come from corporations." He recommended, therefore, that the Democratic party of the State should frame a short platform (he did not suggest what principles that platform should embody) and then nominate men "whose character will give assurance to the people of the State that, if elected, they will render honest and faithful service." The need of honest and fearless men in politics is unquestionable; but, as Mr. Jerome himself indicated, it is the lack of political principles in party organizations that makes the rule of the corruptible boss and the partisan trimmer possible. We do not believe that any party that is in the condition in which Mr. Jerome described the Democratic party of New York as being can be really rehabilitated until it decides not only to nominate

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upright men, but also to stand for some fundamental political principles. This is especially true when the men who wish to restore the vigor of the party are contending against an organization such as Mr. Hearst's Independence League, which is offering not only a man but also a programme.

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International Peace and National Order

At the meeting of the American Bar Association, held on the last days of August, two topics of high importance were considered. In the first place, this gathering of lawyers and jurists adopted a resolution approving the recommendations of the Interparliamentary Union, and requesting the United States Government to instruct its delegates to the second Hague Conference to urge the adoption of the recommendations. As the readers of The Outlook who noted our report of the meeting of the Union (in the issue of August 4) will remember, the Union recommended that the Hague Conference be made permanent, that a plan for codifying international law be prepared, that contraband of war be defined, that private property at sea be protected, that the limitation of armaments be considered, and, possibly most immediately important of all, that disagreeing nations, before any act of hostility, shall submit their quarrel, whatever it be, to mediation. These recommendations will be found in full in the letter of a staff correspondent in The Outlook for August 18. The additional weight of legal authority which the approval of such a body as the American Bar Association lends to these recommendations is very considerable. The subject, however, which was the most prominent theme of discussion among the lawyers present at the meeting was that which Judge Amidon considered in the columns of The Outlook for July 14, the law's delay in criminal cases. As Dean Roscoe Pound, of the School of Law of the University of Nebraska, in his valuable paper on the subject, says, the peculiar tenet of American law—which he calls "the sporting theory of justice"—namely, that the parties to a criminal case should "fight out their own game" with the judge as a mere umpire, not only makes the law ineffective, but it also makes it impossible to restrain the bullying of witnesses, unjustly destroys the reputation of witnesses, and "creates a general dislike, if not a fear, of the witness-function." Dean Pound not only described the evil, but also made some recommendations for a remedy. William Draper Lewis, Dean of the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania, also made an address to much the same effect. We continue our discussion of the subject in an editorial article on another page. Recognition of this evil is apparently growing among lawyers, who have the power to initiate a reform. The Bar Association referred the matter of defects in judicial administration to a committee on that subject. It is to be hoped that Judge Parker, who was elected President of the Association, will appoint a committee that will give to this condition a thorough investigation.

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A $100,000,000 Water Congress

The National Irrigation meeting held at Boise, Idaho, early this month has been styled the "Hundred Million Congress" because of the demand there formulated that the Government shall increase its reclamation fund to the figure stated. It now amounts approximately to $43,000,000, a sum of handsome magnitude when it is considered that all of it is to be spent in making productive the waste places of the semi-arid West. Since its inception four years ago the reclamation service has done wonders for irrigation, and the enthusiasm of its promoters has not been misplaced. The Government's policy of lending its vast resources to lead water to barren lands, allowing settlers to repay the expenditure through a decade, then turning over the plant to them free of incumbrance, has accomplished what private enterprise never could have brought about—the helping of the settler in making a home regardless of his financial ability. This the Irrigation Congress recognized, and urged its further extension. It is probable that the fund, which is increasing rapidly as the work of the engineers is extended, will soon reach

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the amount asked, and it may be several times that sum before all possible irrigation shall have been brought about through the plan's beneficence. Further than that, it has stimulated private enterprise through the inspiration of confidence in irrigation undertakings which comes to the financial world. Government reclamation has made private irrigation finances respectable, and bonds of this sort which formerly went begging are now sold readily at rates commensurate with the market for high-class securities. The establishment of this market has been one of the most important accomplishments of the service. In addition it has given an impetus to manufacturing and to enterprises dependent on the success of irrigation projects, such as the production of beet sugar and fruit. When the full force of the vast fund shall be exerted in conquering every part of the desert amenable to artificial moisture, remarkable advances in Western productiveness will result. The best of it will be that the increased productiveness will be permanent, independent of rain or drought in the general climatic conditions. Already parts of the plains thought beyond reclamation have been brought under ditch, while reservoirs, both natural and artificial, are storing the rainfall and surplus river waters both as protection from flood and for crop sustenance.

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Irrigation Problems

On October 9 will be argued in the United States Supreme Court a case of seven years' standing whose issue affects directly irrigation interests and rights throughout the Nation. It is that of the State of Kansas against the State of Colorado, concerning the respective rights of these commonwealths in the waters of the Arkansas River. The plaintiff claims that Colorado is wrongfully diverting the river into the irrigation ditches of the upper State, and that Kansas has rights that should be maintained in supplying its own needs. The defense is that Colorado, having the origin of the river within its borders, has prior right to all its waters. The United States has intervened with the plea that neither of the States has sole right to the river, but that the Government should distribute it through its reclamation service. Over 10,000 pages of testimony have been taken in the past two years, making the record one of the most voluminous ever filed. The expenses have reached $200,000. All commonwealths in which inter-State rivers are used for irrigation are watching the case with interest. Upon it depend the disposition and control of all inter-State streams of the arid and semi-arid belt, the interests of 50,000,000 acres of irrigable land, and the future of extensive investments. So insufficient is the supply of water for all the area on which moisture is needed that the struggle becomes keener each season. If the States nearest the source of the streams may use all their water for enterprises of their own, this leaves the States farther down in a position where irrigation becomes speculative rather than practical. Many court rulings have been rendered concerning the rights of water-users, but this broad question will now receive its final adjudication. It is expected that a decision will be rendered during the winter term of the Supreme Court. If the inter-State rivers are controlled by the Government, it is evident that a broader helpfulness for the settler and greater possibilities of production will result. It is not unreasonable to anticipate an era when all the water falling on the plains and in the mountains shall be caught in basins and reservoirs, to spread summer richness of moisture over the thirsty plains, and so millions of barren prairie acres be made to put forth fruits and grain. The irrigation movement in semi-arid America has but begun its wonders.

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Safety and Security

An Exposition of a character novel in this country is to be held in New York City next January, under the management of the American Institute of Social Service. It will have to do with safety devices and the prevention of accidents. In Europe there have been several of these Expositions of Safety Devices, and museums for the permanent exhibition of safeguards to life and limb have been

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organized in Paris, Berlin, Munich, Amsterdam, Vienna, and Moscow. It is asserted that America is far behind Europe in caring for the personal safety of working people and of the public generally. We have more than once quoted figures showing the enormous excess of deaths and injuries from railway accidents in this country over the corresponding totals in England and Germany. In a less degree this holds true in other industries; thus, there are twice as many fatalities, proportionately, among coal-miners in the United States as in Great Britain. In legislation intended to protect workers from accidents growing out of their industries, our States, as a rule, are far behind foreign countries. In fact, there is hardly any question now before the public which is of more practical and immediate importance than the prevention of disaster and death on the railway and in the manufacturing shop. Americans are notoriously impatient of delay and willing to take risks, but they must be taught the criminal folly of neglecting precautions; the responsibility for loss of life and limb must be fixed and defined; and punishment must follow the violation of reasonable laws. Few people realize the extent of preventable industrial slaughter; the American Institute of Social Service asserts that the industrial army of the United States suffers fifty per cent. more casualties every year than all the killed and wounded in both the Russian and Japanese armies during the recent war, and it is estimated that of the 7,086,000 persons engaged in mechanical and industrial pursuits, 344,900 suffer accidents yearly, apart from the 94,000 recorded railway casualties for the same period. No wonder that the managers of the projected Exposition protest against the stolid indifference of the general public on this subject. Yet invention here and abroad has offered many safeguards against industrial accident, and both manufacturers and labor unions are beginning to show a proper interest in the subject. To stimulate this interest and to encourage invention on the one side, and the adoption of devices already invented, on the other, is the function of the proposed Exposition. It will show models, photographs, and drawings of protective devices for many trades and manufactures, and will include also such subjects as first aid to the injured, workingmen's dwellings, cooking, ventilation, and industrial betterment generally. "Safety and Security for American Life and Labor," the title of a pamphlet on this subject, is a good watchword for a concerted attack on industrial slaughter. Information as to the Exposition of Safety Devices may be had by writing to the American Institute of Social Service, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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The Cambridge-Harvard Race

The Harvard crew got on Saturday of last week what they went to England for—a good race, though they hardly gave their rivals as good a one as they had hoped to give. The crew of Cambridge University earned their victory. From beginning to end of the winding course the English crew led; and yet at the finish there was but a length of clear water between the two boats. Several weeks ago The Outlook expressed the hope that the better crew might win. According to reports of the race, that hope has been fulfilled. There were no misleading strategic secret tactics before the race; during the race there were no accidents; and now that the race is over there are no excuses. All Americans who enjoy good sport can join heartily in congratulations to the winners and a welcome to the defeated. The Harvard eight lost no championship, for there was no championship at stake; they won, however, what is much more valuable than any championship—the respect and friendliness of a sport-loving nation. The race, as a spectacle, was most picturesque. Thousands, how many it would be useless to try to estimate, watched the two crews from the banks of the Thames. These cheering English spectators were naturally pleased at the success of the Cambridge oarsmen; but they showed their approval of the gameness with which the Americans, at the last stage of the race, closed in upon the victors and maintained their vigor to the end. Although there are

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more serious occupations than boat-racing, there is probably nothing which these university students could have done that would more certainly have contributed to international amity and to the promotion of wholesome human life than they did by arranging and carrying out this event.

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The Insurrection in Cuba

There have been many reports of negotiations for peace between the insurgents and the Government in Cuba the past week or so. There is no doubt that the situation is extremely embarrassing to President Palma and his administration, not so much because of the number of armed troops in the field as because they are scattered in distant provinces and in many small bodies, so that from a military point of view it is almost impossible to deal with them. There seem to have been no engagements of consequence between the insurgents and the Government forces last week, and reports from both sides of victories and strategic gains are no sooner received than contradicted. On Monday of this week, however, official announcement was made to the effect that an armed train had been attacked by the rebels, who were dispersed by rapid-fire guns with a loss placed at three hundred, while the loyal troops lost only one killed and six wounded. The efforts for peace have been made mainly by the conservative men who are interested in seeing maintained the commercial prosperity which the island has enjoyed for the past two years. Such men think that nothing could be worse for Cuba than a long state of unrest in which a war of skirmishing and guerrilla fighting should prevail. The peace-makers seem as we write to be in hopes that the insurgent leaders may be induced to cease hostilities while some kind of a political compromise is arranged. The first reply of the insurgents to proposals for negotiation was the demand that new municipal and general elections should be held. It could hardly be expected that President Palma should accept such a proposal, since to do so would practically be to acknowledge that the election under which he holds office was unfairly conducted. A possibly more acceptable suggestion has been that the question of the legality of the last general election should be submitted to arbitration. A committee or junta representing or claiming to represent the revolutionary leaders is to put forth at once a detailed statement of the alleged wrong-doing of the Palma administration, and it is understood that this junta will propose that an arbitration committee of five should be formed—two members to represent the Government, two the insurgents, and the fifth to represent the foreign interest in Cuba. Up to the present time, while the insurgents have rested their cause upon assertions that the last election was unfair and that the power of the Government was used improperly at the polls and before the election took place, we have seen no evidence presented to sustain the charge. An agreement to lay the evidence before a fair board of arbitration might lead to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. Whether or not the Government would consent to such a course would depend chiefly on its knowledge of the temper and feeling of the Cuban people. If it is true, as the insurgents allege, that a large majority of the citizens are hostile to the Government, a course of compromise and conciliation may be necessary; but if these claims are grossly exaggerated, it is not likely that President Palma will be willing to put in question the authority on which his Government stands. Neither party seems the least inclined to welcome intervention from the United States, although individuals have suggested that a new election to be held under the supervision of a United States Commission might be a satisfactory solution. Elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook will be found an article by a well-informed American writer and journalist, Mr. Talcott Williams, on "The Causes of Cuban Insurrection."

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Massacre in Poland

An almost incredible but apparently well authenticated report of wholesale murder comes from the town of Siedlce in Poland. The cable despatches assert

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that in this massacre, which took place on Saturday and Sunday, some two hundred Jews were killed and a thousand wounded. Even the barbarity of the Kishenev slaughter seems to have been surpassed, and in this case even more plainly than at Kishinev the connivance of high authorities is evident; for it is reported that Governor-General Skallon telegraphed for permission to use artillery, and that then four batteries opened fire down streets inhabited by thousands of Jews. The despatches also assert, as evidence of the fact that the massacre was planned beforehand, that the soldiers went about in advance warning the non-Jewish people to hang out their ikons so that they might remain undisturbed. The only excuse offered for this wholesale murder is that certain Terrorists fired from roofs and windows on soldiers and policemen on Saturday last. In view of the similar excuses given for former massacres, this explanation sounds very much like the fabled assertion of the wolf, that the lamb, drinking below him, muddied the water of the stream; for a state of terror had existed in the town for many days, and it is far from probable that the Jewish population would commit acts sure to bring down upon them fierce reprisals. This massacre at Siedlce is a frightfully ironical comment on last week's declaration by the Czar of a firm determination to preserve order and to introduce a liberal measure of reform, with the specific mention of the immediate abolition of restriction on the Jews. It is only one more evidence of the extent of what the London Spectator, in an illuminating editorial on the general anarchy of Russia, calls "The Russian Welter."

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The Native Rebellion in Natal

One of those disturbing and devastating native wars in South Africa for which the British Government is seldom responsible, but which bring in their train endless trouble for the Home Government, lately came to an end in Natal, after 3,500 Zulus had been killed and 2,000 taken prisoners. The outbreak began as far back as January, and was due to the efforts of the Natal Government to collect a poll tax from the natives living within the Colony. Natal has had since 1893 self-government as complete as that of Canada. The revenues of Natal have suffered because of business depression; and with a view to bringing more money into the treasury, and indirectly no doubt with a view to making the natives more eager to work for the white colonists, Parliament at Maritzburg last year passed an Act by which every adult male Kaffir who did not pay the hut tax of fourteen shillings a year was made liable to a poll tax of twenty shillings. Ever since the end of the Boer War there has been more or less friction between the whites and the Zulus in the Colony. There was no opposition in Parliament or from the English newspapers at Durban or Maritzburg to the new impost on the natives. The Zulus, however, from the first, resented the tax; and when the law was explained to them by the stipendiary magistrates stationed all over the Colony, and they were told that payment would be due in the early days of 1906, one of the Zulu chiefs declared that the Natal Government "would have to build a gaol that should extend from Durban to Maritzburg" if they endeavored to collect it. Towards the end of January an attempt was made to collect the tax from the natives living in the neighborhood of Richmond. A police sergeant and two or three native police officers were killed in the mêlée that resulted; and from that time until the end of July the whites and Zulus were at war. All the military operations were under the command of officers appointed by the Natal Government and responsible to it and not to the Home Government.

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The Conduct of the War

The war was waged with a desperate ferocity by the white militia, augmented by loyal native levies. Few prisoners were taken in the early stages of the war—not, indeed, until protests against the wholesale slaughter were made in the British Parliament and the British press. At Westminster there were complaints that the native levies killed the wounded; and the only answer to this unofficial British protest was a

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cablegram from Sir H. M'Callum, Governor of Natal, read in the House of Commons a few days before the adjournment for the summer recess, in which it was stated that "the Maritzburg Government has received no information that the wounded were killed by the native levies." "It is, of course, possible," continued the M'Callum cablegram, "that levies away from the observation of European officers may have killed the badly wounded; and it would be quite impossible to prevent it; but the commandant of militia is certain that this has not been done during the present rebellion to the same extent as in former times." In the same cablegram it was admitted that the dead body of Bambaata, the leader of the rebels, had been mutilated—his head had been cut off at the instance of Major Platt, of the Natal medical corps, for the purpose of identification. It was also admitted that, up to the 16th of July, 3,500 Zulus had been killed. Early in the trouble Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies, interposed to ask for information with regard to the intended execution of a number of prisoners condemned by court martial. The Ministry at Maritzburg resented the interference and threatened to resign. After this incident the Home Government did not again interfere, except to ask for information such as was contained in the M'Callum cablegram. Just before Parliament adjourned one of the Irish Nationalists asked of Mr. Winston Churchill, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, "Does the Government decline all responsibility for the proper conduct of the campaign?" "We do not deny all responsibility," answered Mr. Churchill, "but our responsibility is indirect in its character." The war and the manner in which it was waged led to many protests from the rank and file of the supporters of the Campbell-Bannerman Government.

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Progress in China

Indications multiply that the ferment in China has as its basis a genuine desire for advance along lines of Western civilization and a marvelous willingness to accept the new ideas which a generation ago were hated and scorned. Thus, a well-informed native in China in a personal letter says: "The desire for Western learning and English-speaking in Chentu amounts to a craze." The same writer, speaking of the movement in China at large, says: "There are two main ideas—one self-defense, and the other education—which latter occupies by far the larger expenditure and energy. . . . Everywhere the people are most anxious to know of Western nations and improved ways." A singular testimony to the truth of these assertions is seen in an article in the North China Herald, which is called to our attention as a specimen of the utterances of the ultra anti-foreign element. The author of the article is a Chinaman who believes emphatically in the watchword, "China for the Chinese." His appeal, which has been circulated in pamphlet form in the province of Hunan by thousands of copies, warns the people against the dangers of foreign domination almost hysterically. Foreign countries, the author declares, for instance, "if they are permitted to destroy our country, will gradually bring their own people over here, and take and gradually put us to death." But when we examine the remedies and peaceful methods proposed to avoid this horrible danger, we are surprised at the intelligence and common sense shown. The recommendations are under seven heads, which urge the Chinese people, respectively, to acquire the new learning, to gain military strength, to abandon foot-binding, to abandon opium-smoking, to cultivate combination of action, to build railways, and to employ peaceful methods rather than violence. The best way to stand against foreigners, says this reasonable Chinaman, is, first, not to be afraid of them, and, secondly, not to injure them. He boldly asks, "What is the use of our learning?" And he points out that the learning of foreigners is of practical use, that steamboats, telegraphs, guns, and machinery are all the outcome of technical education, and that all this must be acquired by Chinese, "not to play into the hands of foreigners, but to enable the Chinese to resist them." As

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to military strength, he cites the example of Japan, and says that Japan's success comes from the patriotism of her people and her military powers. The value of railways for military as well as commercial reasons is explained, and this supposedly ultra-conservative Chinese patriot exclaims, "Let us build railways at once. If any are already in the hands of foreigners, let us buy them back at once." It is impossible to read this earnest argument without seeing that the author is as zealous for Chinese progress as he is for the independence of China, and that his appeal in a colloquial narrative to the common people indicates the spread in China of a new mode of thought and a new national ambition.

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The Bible in the Philippines

An interesting glimpse of the vigor and the prospects of the "Away from Rome" movement in the Philippines is given in the recent annual report of the American Bible Society. By arrangement with Archbishop Aglipay a tour of Bishop Farolan and two priests of the Independent Catholic Church to organize new congregations in northern Luzon was accompanied by a colporteur of the Society carrying its translations of the Gospels into the native dialect. The Bishop explained to his hearers the presence of the colporteur by saying that they were co-operating to bring back the Catholic Church to its condition in its primitive period, when the Scriptures were the rule of faith. In confirming hundreds of candidates the Bishop gave each one a copy of the Gospels instead of the usual candle, and the people paid for the book what it had been customary to pay for the candle. In the organizing of twenty-five new congregations fourteen thousand copies of the Gospels were thus sold. In the province of Nueva Viscaya all the priests went over to the Independent Catholic Church, taking with them the Church property. Here four thousand copies of the Scriptures were put into the hands of the people, a priest collecting their price for the colporteur. He in turn was invited to speak upon the separation from Rome, and to explain the Protestant Reformation in Germany and England. In the island of Panay the same colporteur has arranged with Bishop Hijalda to put fifty thousand copies of the Gospels into the hands of the people. Detestation of the Spanish friars who have been sent into this field to antagonize the independent movement tends to stimulate it. In the great southern island of Mindanao the movement is said to be vigorous, and to be coupled with a strong desire to obtain the New Testament. The multiplicity of native dialects seems to be the chief difficulty in supplying the demand, but the work is being vigorously pushed. The funds needed by the Bible Society should be liberally provided.

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George Matheson

In the death of Dr. George Matheson the Scottish Church mourns a loss the tidings of which carry a pang of regret around the world, for his "Spiritual Development of St. Paul" is read by Chinese in their native tongue. A scholar of high academic distinction, a thinker intellectually robust, he was gifted with a poetic and mystical spirit which imparted charm to his thought, so that crowds thronged his ministry at St. Bernard's, Edinburgh. The distinctive dogmas of Calvinism lost their rigor in passing through his spiritual mind, as the glare of day is softened in passing through cathedral windows. His faculty of penetrating through the form to the soul of things is illustrated in such works as "The Psalmist and the Scientist" and "The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions." And yet he had lost his eyesight at the age of twenty. What he achieved through the energy of an invincible will, despite so formidable a handicap, gives him rank among the "masters of fate." The temper in which he fought his fight with obstacles is finely illustrated in a noble lyric adopted by recent hymnals, "O Love, that will not let me go." Queen Victoria, who was fond of his devotional writings, said to him, "Your life has been a sorely tried but a very beautiful one." An apoplectic attack ended it at the age of sixty-four.

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Neither Individualism nor Socialism

That Mr. Taft's speech in Maine last week was prepared with a view to its effect upon his possible candidacy for the Presidency we do not for an instant believe; but we do not doubt that it will have an effect in impressing upon the American people the fact that Mr. Taft is of Presidential stature. Although delivered as a campaign argument on behalf of a candidate for Congress, it is really a statesman's address to the country. It is an exposition of present conditions and a formulation of a policy designed to deal with them. The absence from it of the spirit of passion and controversy disarms Mr. Taft's political opponents; its engaging frankness is an invitation to fair discussion; and its moderation in statement makes it persuasive.

Appearing a week after Mr. Bryan's speech in New York, which, though more controversial, was, like it, candid and constructive, it puts the policy of the present Administration in contrast with the policy most prominently offered in opposition. This contrast is strongest on the so-called trust issue.

Mr. Taft recognizes and states clearly the evils resulting from the abuse of corporate wealth. Commercial combinations are created by the public for the benefit of the public; the abuse of such combinations consists in exercising their powers for the sake of private advantage. In other words, it is the diversion of benefits from those to whom they rightfully belong to the hands of others. The problem is this: How may these benefits be preserved and yet secured to their rightful owners?

Mr. Taft's answer may be epitomized by saying that corporations, whether monopolies or not, should be allowed to remain under private administration, but the Government should so control them that it may secure to the public its share in the benefit. Mr. Bryan's answer, on the other hand, may be epitomized by saying that no corporation which has a monopoly should remain under private administration; either its monopoly should be prevented, or, if that is impossible, it should be administered, not by private individuals, but by the State or National Government.

According to Mr. Taft, the Government should not wait for any corporate abuse to become intolerable; it should so control all corporations that abuses would be prevented. According to Mr. Bryan, the Government should not interfere until a corporate abuse becomes intolerable by becoming monopolistic; then it should interfere either by destroying the monopoly or taking possession of it. Mr. Taft would not add new functions to the Government, but would enlarge its sphere of activity; Mr. Bryan would limit its sphere of activity, but under certain conditions would add to its functions those of carrying on industry and engaging in commerce. Mr. Bryan, apparently the more socialistic, is in spirit and aim the more individualistic; he would invoke Government interference in order to restore competition. Mr. Taft, in method the more conservative, is in spirit and aim the more progressive; he would perfect Government control in order to preserve the public benefits of combination.

It is therefore in contrast both to *laissez faire* individualism and to paternalistic Socialism that the policy outlined by Mr. Taft is conceived. It does not conform to that of the Parker Democrats on the one hand, or to that of the Hearst Democrats on the other. It is neither reactionary nor revolutionary. It means neither the acceptance of present conditions nor the destruction of them; but rather a growth out of them.

It seems to be commonly supposed that the American people will be compelled to choose between leaving industrial conditions as they are and accepting in whole or in part the programme of the Socialists. If the people were confined to these alternatives, we have no doubt that they would choose the Socialistic programme. But they are not confined to these alternatives. The plan which Mr. Taft explains, which Mr. Roosevelt has urged, and which Congress has followed, means neither letting corporations work out their destiny under the common law nor supplanting

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them by Government bureaus, but exercising over them such control that they shall be servants, not masters, of the public.

As Mr. Taft says, Mr. Roosevelt is the issue, for this is the policy which is identified with his name and which he desires to develop. If the American people wish to give it further trial, they can do so, by voting, not for a party which is divided between individualism and Socialism, but for the party which has enacted that policy into law and followed it in execution of the law. If, on the other hand, the American people believe that corporate abuses should be disregarded or should be remedied by more revolutionary methods, they should vote against the party in power, expressing their preference as best they can. We believe that Mr. Taft, in this speech, has put before the people of the United States with clearness, moderation, and force the issue which is pre-eminent in this Congressional campaign, and upon which they will vote in electing the next President.

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One Cause for Increase of Crime

In his address before the Yale University Law School in June, 1905, Mr. Taft presented some pretty serious figures respecting the increase of crime and the failure to punish it in the United States. Since 1885—that is, in about twenty years—there have been 131,951 murders and homicides and but 2,286 executions. In 1885 the number of murders was 1,808, in 1904 it had increased to 8,482, but the number of executions for murder had only increased from 108 in 1885 to 116 in 1904. In other words, the number of murders had increased fourfold, while the number of executions had remained substantially the same. Mr. Taft adds that "as murder is on the increase, so are all offenses of the felony class, and there can be no doubt that they will continue to increase unless the criminal laws are enforced with more certainty, more uniformity, more severity than they now are." He points out what he judges to be one of the most common causes of failure in our administration of criminal law, in the statement that "if a provision of law could be enacted by which no judgment of the court below should be reversed except for an error which the court, after reading the entire evidence, can affirmatively say would have led to a different verdict, ninety-nine reversals out of one hundred under the present system would be avoided."

Under both English and American law every man is presumed innocent until he has been proved to be guilty; but under English law, when he has once had a trial in a court of competent jurisdiction and has been convicted, this presumption is reversed; it is presumed that he has been justly tried and justly convicted. If he questions the justice of his conviction, and carries that question up to a superior tribunal, the presumptions are against him and in favor of the tribunal. It is not, therefore, sufficient for him to show that some error has been committed on the trial; he must also make it appear to the satisfaction of the appellate tribunal that this error has been prejudicial to him, and really affects the justice of his condemnation. It is true, as Mr. Moore stated in his article in The Outlook of last week, that the Supreme Court has held that "no judgment shall be reversed in a court of error when it is clear that the error did not prejudice and could not have prejudiced the rights of the party against whom the ruling is made." But it is also true that in America it is presumed that every error does prejudice the rights of the party, and it must be established to the satisfaction of the court, not only that no such prejudice did arise from the error, but that no such prejudice could have arisen from the error. "The presumption always is that error produces prejudice. It is only when it appears so clearly as to be beyond doubt that the error challenged did not prejudice and could not have prejudiced the complaining party that the rule that error without prejudice is no ground for reversal is applicable."

What we need in America is the re-establishment of the English rule. When a case goes up to the appellate court

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from the trial court, it should reverse the judgment of conviction only in case it is affirmatively satisfied that the defendant would have been, and should have been, acquitted if the error complained of had not been committed. The American rule which presumes that every error, however insignificant, is prejudicial to the defendant, works evil in two ways.

In the first place, it multiplies appeals. In England new trials are rarely granted. Mr. Moore's figures, based on the very inadequate examination of a single year, would give the impression that new trials are rarely granted in the United States. Reports from the clerks of the Supreme Courts of Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota point to a very different conclusion. These reports, based on an examination of the records for a decade, 1890 to 1900, give the following results:

Indiana. Criminal cases appealed to the Supreme and Appellate Courts, 530; new trials granted, 157.

Minnesota. Appeals to the Supreme Court, 168; cases reversed, 47; cases dismissed, 8.

Wisconsin. Appeals to the Supreme Court, 111; new trials ordered, 42; defendants ordered discharged, 3.

Iowa. Criminal cases appealed, 588; new trials granted, 127.

Illinois. Number of criminal cases in the Supreme Court, 232; cases reversed and remanded, 109.

In other words, in these States a little over one-quarter of all the convictions for crime were reversed on appeal; and we know of no reason for supposing that the proportion was either greater or less in other States of the Union, or that it is less in the present decade than it was in the decade covered by these official reports. In estimating the significance of these figures the reader should remember that the criminal population in the United States is large and is believed to be increasing more rapidly than the entire population of the country, and that the cases in which wholly innocent persons are arrested and put on trial for crime are very rare.

These reversals are not infrequently rendered in cases which to the lay mind seem absurd, but also in spite of the judgment of the appellate court that the accused has been justly convicted. An illustration of the former is furnished by Judge Taft. He reports a case in which the United States Supreme Court reversed the judgment because the record did not show that the defendant had been arraigned and had pleaded not guilty, though there was no real doubt that he had been arraigned and had pleaded; in fact, the trial would have been impossible otherwise. A type of the second is a case reported in the Federal Reporter, Vol. 137, in which a conviction was set aside because the prosecuting attorney said some things in his speech to the jury which the appellate court thought he ought not to have said, and the court could not know that it might not have prejudiced the jury.

More serious than the number of appeals which this rule promotes is the substantial defeat of justice through interminable delays. Under its operation any man who has money can employ an astute counsel, and any astute counsel stands a very good chance, in a long and complicated trial, of trapping his adversary into the commitment of some nominal error which the appellate court cannot affirmatively declare was without possible prejudice to the defendant. The result is a delay that prevents that celerity of punishment which is quite as essential for the prevention of crime as either the certainty or the severity of punishment. In Missouri a man by the name of Kring was convicted of murder in the first degree in 1875. Six appeals consumed as many years. The Supreme Court, at length finding that the record plainly showed that he was guilty of murder, sentenced him once again to be hanged. Even then he took an appeal to a still higher court, and died in jail before the hanging took place. In New York a lawyer by the name of Patrick was convicted of murder in 1902. It took three years to get the case argued before the Court of Appeals, where the sentence was confirmed in March, 1905. Patrick's counsel then asked for a reargument. The court listened to the discussion of this question and declined to reopen the case. He then appealed to a single judge for a new trial on the ground of newly

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discovered evidence. His appeal was patiently listened to and refused as groundless. He has now appealed to the United States Supreme Court on the theory that his constitutional rights have been in some way violated, and at this writing, more than four years after he was convicted of the crime, of which it must, therefore, be presumed he was guilty, he remains unpunished.

That our administration of criminal law in this country needs radical reform; that one of the most fundamental steps in this reform is the return of the American courts to the English rule to the effect that no judgment of conviction will be reversed unless the court is affirmatively convinced that if the error had not been committed the accused would not have been convicted; that unless by this and by other kindred reforms a way is discovered to make the processes of justice much more expeditious than they are at the present time, crime will continue to increase in the future as it has in the past, The Outlook believes to be the well-considered judgment of those who have given this subject careful study, and to be so established by a comparison of English and American conditions as to be practicably indubitable.

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The Discrediting of Wealth

Recent investigations and legislation dealing with the acquisition and management of money have been characterized, in some quarters, as an attack on wealth. This phrase misinterprets a movement which is essentially ethical, and only in a subordinate way economic. It is a revolt against a corrupt, tyrannical, or unfair use of money, rather than against money itself. But it is impossible to bring to light the methods by which some colossal fortunes have been acquired, and by which some vast aggregations of capital have been directed, without touching with caustic hand some of the illusions widely held and of very ancient date concerning wealth. The events of the last two years are not only bringing about beneficent changes of method and attitude in handling great funds, but they have seriously diminished the charm of wealth and shorn it of much of the exaggerated importance in which it has been held.

Those who have fallen most completely under the spell of fortune-hunting, and have been consumed by the fever of a pursuit which dries up the very sources of spiritual life, can no longer be blind to the fact that when great wealth ceases to be associated with character, honor, genius, or public respect, it is a very shabby substitute for the thing men once held it to be. While the gold shines above the waters of the Rhine, and the Rhine maidens guard it with songs, even a poet may be thrilled by the brightness of it; but when Alberich climbs up the rocks, seizes it by violence, and carries it with him to the depths of the stream, no one would accept the booty and take the shape and malignant spirit of the dwarf. There are hosts of honorable men of wealth, and there are large fortunes which have been honorably made; but so much brutal indifference to the rights of others, so much tyrannical use of power, so much arbitrary employment of privilege without a touch of genius, so much cynical indifference to human ties of all kinds, so much vulgar greed, have come to light during the past two years, that the luster has very largely gone, and wealth, as a supreme prize of life, has immensely lost in attractive power. There are hosts of young men who are ambitious to be rich, but who are not willing to accept wealth on such terms; the price is too great, the bargain too hard.

Whatever dumbness and torpor may overtake those who have long given themselves body and soul to the piling up of wealth, there remains in the hearts of young men a moral sanity which makes it impossible for them to buy fortune by giving up all the other possibilities and rewards which life offers. So many practitioners of the art of making money have practiced that art in a sordid spirit and with cold-blooded selfishness that they have brought the art itself into discredit, and have made wealth seem shabby and vulgar.

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There is small chance that this revolt against wealth as the supreme aim of life will go too far; the tendencies in the other direction are too powerful, the opportunities too tempting. For many decades to come the commercial spirit will dominate modern society. At the critical moment, however, when other interests for a host of men were fading out, and other aims becoming secondary, and wealth was taking the first place as the supreme prize, there has come to light such moral shabbiness, such vulgarity of feeling, such a tawdriness of taste, such moral blindness, on the part of many who have most successfully sought to secure wealth, that its charm is broken, its spell dissolved, its evil fascination partly destroyed. Young men especially begin to see clearly that the wealth which cannot buy honor, confidence, influence, and respect is only another form of poverty; and that the fable of the Rheingold is as true to-day as in the days when the poets of the Germanic race divined its meaning and fashioned its form. No fortune is worth possessing for which a man is compelled to pay in integrity, fineness of soul, free development of his nature, or that spiritual happiness which comes not from what we get, but from what we give.

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The Spectator

Every boy in America feels somehow subtly defrauded when the Fourth of July falls on a Sunday. But in Italy the people feel differently. Their Independence Day always comes on Sunday; it is arranged that way. For nearly two weeks the Spectator had seen arising, in the leisurely Roman way, the ornamented scaffolding for the fireworks in the Pincian. "For the Festa of the Constitution, yes. It is always the first Sunday in June," was the explanation. And there was to be a great military review, besides the fireworks. The Latin races love to take a holiday, and develop it with artistic completeness; and though two festas had been already packed into the week before—Ascension Day and St. Philip of Neri's Day, that of the patron saint of Rome—the city was entirely ready for another.

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The Fourth of July at home commences early, as far as individuals of juvenile years are concerned. But the soldiers do not usually parade at eight in the morning. In Italy, however, the grand review commenced at eight o'clock, sharp, out beyond St. Peter's, in an immense field under Monte Mario. The Spectator and his English friend started out at a quarter past seven, and drove in a cab to the Piazza del Popolo, only to find that for lack of a *permesso*, that pervasive need in all Italian ceremonies, the road was blocked. Another road was tried, and another, but every avenue was patrolled by impressive Italian cavalrymen demanding *permessos*. Along every street the people were strolling, in two and threes and family groups, to the review, through the warm Italian air. Following the line of least resistance, the Spectator's cabman at last attained an avenue where no authority said him nay, and whipped into a lane that came out on the brink of the field of war. Two other cabs had already found the spot, and a family circle of Italians sat on the grassy bank in front. The soldiers were already all in place—a fine show of cavalry and infantry, and a big war balloon floating over all, moored securely to a four-horse wagon, and occupied by an officer aeronaut, who had unquestionably the best view of the review that could be obtained.

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More cabs came; more people; venders began to come and go, with sugar-and-water on trays, oranges, etc. Small Italian boys, irrepressible like any others, crawled through the fence into the review grounds and were chased back by authority on horseback, and crawled through again the moment authority passed on. A careworn Italian, looking like a brigand, but evidently the mildest of men in the bosom of his family, tried to keep four little girls and two boys in order on the grass, and was continually overrun and checkmated by them instead. They were only quieted by the clear sound of the royal trumpets ringing over

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the field, and the murmur, "Il re ! Il re !" which heralded the entrance of King Victor Emanuel and his officers. The reviewing stand, draped in the Italian colors, was at the end of the field; but whether the bomb-throwing at Madrid at King Alfonso's wedding, three days before, had made royalty doubt the wisdom of any fixed programme, or whether a central position suited the reviewing better, the King never went near it. Down the lines he rode, on a big bay horse, riding very well and looking very gallant in his white plume and green baldric, with a brilliant group of officers behind him. But whereas on Independence Day at home the President would be greeted with thunderous cheers and applause, there was hardly a hand-clap as the King rode close to the banked masses of the people. "The English are called such a cold race, don't you know," observed the Spectator's British companion, struck with the same fact, "and the Italians are considered so enthusiastic and excitable. But in England the people would go wild if King Edward came anywhere in sight; and here nobody seems to care." The Spectator had noticed an entire lack of enthusiasm as the Pope was borne through the Vatican to a canonization the Sunday before, but had thought the sparse waving of handkerchiefs a mere sign that piety was on the wane in the Roman mind. Perhaps, however, the Italians waste so much energy in every-day gesticulation that they have no reserve fund such as the stolid English and undemonstrative Americans accumulate and pour forth on patriotic occasions.

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After the King came, in a quarter of an hour more, the Queen in her carriage, smiling and beautiful in white and rose-color, with a filmy rose-colored parasol, which henceforth marked the central point of the maneuvers. The King and his officers returned and grouped themselves about her equipage, while all the regiments passed before the royal pair. The Italian uniforms are dull in color, and no flags seem to be carried by the regiments, for some reason or other. There may have been two or three flags in the whole review, and those not very large. But nevertheless it was a most interesting affair, especially when the trim little Bersaglieri, the Italian sharp-shooters, in their plumy, picturesque hats, came running on the double-quick, or wheeling and darting on bicycles. The war balloon was drawn along in state, and shone like a netted soap-bubble in the morning sun, which was by this time hot enough to make the Spectator cordially indorse the Italian idea of reviewing at eight instead of noon.

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But, after all, the golden hour for a parade was seized by the Anti-Clericals. The Spectator, walking on the Esquiline at five in the afternoon, found a whole Garibaldi procession forming there, with red flags, appeals to the people, and Socialist banners. It was so delightful an afternoon in which to stroll anywhere, with anybody, that the Spectator could not be sure that the size of the procession was any criterion of its serious value. It stalled all the cars along the route, and marched singing as it went, with flags inscribed with such familiar things as, "Give us victory or death," "For country and liberty," and so on. It was perfectly peaceful, attended by numberless small boys, and brought up at the rear by a very small detachment of soldiers which seemed on excellent terms with it. It marched by the Forum of Trajan, the Church of the Jesuits, and the Ponte Garibaldi to the Janiculum, where, under Garibaldi's statue, speeches were made by a Socialist and an Anarchist, and then everybody went home peaceably and got ready to enjoy the fireworks.

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One never feels so patriotic as when away from home. Yet the Spectator could not sigh for the American firecracker. The Corso was draped in flags, the cafés were doing a rushing business, the Borghese Gardens were thronged with families out for the day, every one was enjoying a national festivity, and yet there was a refreshing absence of noise and no dread of fire or injury. The Italians are nearer to their War of Independence than we—some of Garibaldi's own red-shirted veterans were at the review, and all the Streets of the

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Twentieth of September, in each Italian city, are modern ones. But the descendants of the ancient Romans do not need cannon crackers to relieve their feelings over reunited Italy. The fireworks, the Spectator saw by Monday's paper, injured only two people, and in both cases very slightly. Nevertheless, they were very fine—the Piazza del Popolo packed with delighted crowds, the King and Queen in the royal stand, and an illuminated façade on the Pincio, out of which rockets soared and red fire flamed most gloriously for an hour or more. When the royal carriage with its eight galloping outriders had clattered home through the Borghese Gardens, and the Italian families were straggling back through the streets—the Italian household, out for a good time, seems never to get to bed before the small hours—the Spectator and his companion paused at the martial monument of the Cairoli brothers, near Trinità de' Monti, to look out toward St. Peter's, rising in the moonlight beyond the Tiber. "They really have a lot to celebrate, don't you know," remarked the Englishman. "Not only the ancient history, but the modern. United Italy has a right to be proud of its heroes." And the Spectator fully agreed with him.

THE CAUSES OF CUBAN INSURRECTION

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

THE insurrection in Cuba is both overestimated and undervalued by the American. A resort to arms by a defeated political party is mere politics to the Spanish temperament. The custom existed in Spain through three-fourths of the nineteenth century, when it had disappeared in every other European country. It means far less there and in Spanish America than insurrection does in more advanced races. It has taken place within a year both in Argentina and Uruguay without seriously interfering with the commercial prosperity of either. The risk is that, allowing for this, the American will not appreciate how deep and far-reaching are the causes which have brought about the present Cuban outbreak in an island whose conditions render this desultory warfare easy, its suppression difficult, and feed it with the resources which come from social, economic, and political differences based on the structure and development of society.

The stability of Spanish-American rule is in almost exact proportion to the share of white population present. If, like the belt of equatorial republics between Mexico and Brazil, only ten or fifteen per cent. of the population is white, revolution will be the rule. If the proportion is reversed, as in Argentina, stability will come early. If, as in Mexico, a quarter of the population is white, a quarter mixed, and only half indigenous, a half-century of turbulent revolution, in which governments succeed each other almost annually, will at last bring stability. In only two lands, Chile and Salvador, have a few white families holding the great mass of property been able to preserve a tolerably stable rule over a population in large proportion either black or red. Cuba is now two-thirds white, though in 1846 the races were evenly divided. The prospect of its escaping disorder is therefore strong, but its black fraction, some 505,443, out of a total of 1,572,797 in 1899, is in much larger share the descendant of negroes brought from Africa during the nineteenth century than in any but small portions of our own South—and those small portions, where slave cargoes were landed after the abolition of the slave trade in Florida, in Alabama, and in Louisiana, are notorious for their disorder and for race issues.

If disorder could be prevented by material prosperity, Cuba would be without insurrection. It is now six years

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since seven years of insurrection against Spain had reduced the population of Cuba by nearly a quarter, destroyed the rolling stock of its railways, burned the works of almost every sugar plantation, and diminished its foreign commerce by one-third. In four years, since the American army left the Cuban Government in control, its railway system has increased almost one-fourth, from 1,209 miles to 1,589 miles. In 1898 there were 1,080 miles—two-thirds the present mileage. Its sugar product, 1,092,000 tons in 1905, exceeded that of 1894, the largest year of Cuban history. This only means that old plantations, about 2,000,000 acres, are again producing. When land newly brought under cultivation in the past five years yields, the crop will be 1,500,000 tons. Its tobacco product has risen to $26,000,000. Where 375,000 bales of 110 pounds were produced before the war, 475,000 bales were grown last year. Of this nearly half goes to the United States, as does practically all its sugar crop under the reciprocity treaty. Cuban imports, which in 1894 were $74,000,000, have risen to $94,000,000. This increase of $20,000,000 represents the decrease of Spanish tribute and an increase of general consumption. Its exports have advanced from $100,000,000 to $110,000,000, though changes of price render the increase in quantity far greater. To sugar and tobacco are being added a large export of bananas and vegetables. Wages for labor have nearly doubled. Land has risen over the entire island. An immigration of some 16,000 a year adds one per cent. to its population yearly, a proportion as large as that of the largest yearly immigration to the United States. Its railways, which six years ago were little less than tracks and roadbed, have been dividing from five to twelve per cent., the latter a dividend just made on the United Railways of Havana. This railway in August completed a consolidation in which the fortunate promoters netted $800,000, and the shares were left at 120 common and 160 preferred. Plantations have been rising all over the island. Two sugar projects of the United Fruit Company take in, one 6,000 and the other 16,000 acres, and the smaller is provided with works at the cost of $1,000,000, equal to the handling of 1,500 tons of cane daily. The schools, 3,633 in number, had an attendance two years ago of 161,000—nearly a tenth of the total population. This is more than three-fourths of the school population, on an island where elementary education was the privilege of the few before American occupation. The Government, with its yearly revenue of $17,000,000 and its expenditure of about $16,000,000, has had in several years a surplus larger than during the entire period of American occupation. It has sold its bonds on a level with those of our own States.

These changes, however, have, like all such advances in material prosperity, been of small advantage to those who are neither ready nor willing to profit by them. The increase of wages has been accompanied by an even larger increase in wants. Those who shared in leading the revolution find themselves without the rewards that they anticipated. In Cuba, as in all countries which have passed through rebellion, reconstruction, succeeded by the gradual but inevitable ascendency of property, intelligence, and the directing forces of the community, an inexorable law governs the changes which take place. The Cuban revolution of 1895–8 was the result of the termination of reciprocity with this country, which whelmed in ruin the sugar industry of the island. The insurrection army, which at the outside never numbered in all its career, taking the most lavish pay-rolls, over 51,000, had rarely a tenth of this force in the field, and yet succeeded in maintaining its struggle against the disciplined Spanish army of 90,000 men. It was led by educated Cubans who represented the wider aspirations of the island for independence, by partisan rangers, and the natural leaders of the negro plantation laborers who made the bulk of the fighting material. Of the first class was President Palma, of the second were General Gomez and General Maceo, and of the third men like Gualberto Gomez, of Santiago, arrested at the opening of the present struggle, who has been through all the period of President Palma's adminis-

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tration a malcontent. When President Palma was elected over an avowed revolutionary candidate, General Maso, he had behind him leaders of the revolution of all three classes. The older Cuban families, and among those a few men of wealth, during the long and dreary period from 1868 to 1898 conducted a hopeless struggle with a high courage and ideal ambitions, probably known only to those who were fortunate enough to come in contact with the Cuban Junta in the earlier insurrection. When the government was turned over to the Cubans in 1902, it was in unchallenged control of these elements, known first as "Nationalists" and now as "Liberals." They held the administration of the leading offices of government. In the Constitutional Convention there was but one Conservative or Moderate, Eliseode Giberga. The municipal elections in 1901, held under the American army of occupation, had placed them in control of local government, often with deplorable results, for the experience of many revolutions has shown that men may have courage in the field in defense of liberty, and yet be corrupt in the council chamber when power has brought opportunity.

President Palma governed in connection with these Liberal, earlier known as Nationalist, forces until early in 1905. Much happened to discourage his alliance with them. The city governments proved corrupt, and wholesale removals were made. Congress, more anxious over the division of revenue and of loan and the payment of the old rebel army than over the improvement of the island, refused appropriations to the Agricultural Department, at whose head was placed Terry, a Cuban of the first rank. The passage of laws giving local self-government, as required by the constitution, was neglected. The entire body of legislation demanded by that instrument, intended to decentralize the administration of Cuba, was not passed. Judicial positions were under the same political pressure, and there was the same willingness to condone corruption, more or less direct, which led the bar of Havana promptly to elect as its Board of Governors the five judges removed by General Wood for flagitious bribery.

As has always happened after a revolution succeeds, those in personal sympathy, through birth, association, or property, with the stable forces of society, who had once led rebellion, began to ally themselves with their own kind and sort. President Palma, after having led the revolution, and being the chief of its leaders for President, allied himself with the Moderates in January and February of last year, exactly as General Washington, after making up his Cabinet from both parties, found himself gravitating by personal choice and the logic of events to an alliance with the Federal party. President Palma's sudden change was followed by the resignation of his Cabinet, by the selection of a new body of administrators, and this in turn by the wholesale removal, over the entire island, of municipal officers who represented the Liberal party in peace and the revolutionary army in the period which succeeded the rising of 1895.

In Spanish countries the ballot is but a convenient means for exercising power. When the register of votes in Cuba, prior to the September election for President, rose to 432,000—over a quarter of the population and fully one-half larger than any possible number of voters—it was clear to every one that the election in Cuba, like elections in Spain, would respond to the party in power. In Spain this difficulty is obviated by providing a king who by turns calls to power first the leaders of the Liberal and then of the Conservative party, each while in power winning elections by majorities which are dictated from Madrid. Cuba is, unfortunately, without a "constitutional sovereign." President Palma, in his campaign for re-election, followed the course familiar to all Spanish-American history, and the result a year ago, re-electing Palma, was certain before the polls were opened. The Liberal party responded, as is the Spanish-American habit, by withdrawing its candidate, José Miguel Gomez, staying away from the polls, and organizing for revolution. The Liberal party, which elected a Speaker in the previous House, 29 to 26, chose no member in the new. A rising in August,

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1905, and again in December, wholly failed. If the Liberals were more successful this summer than last, economic causes explain the change. The price of both sugar and tobacco has fallen. The rise in silver, in which wages are paid, has increased the intrinsic value of wages paid, and diminished by this much the share of profit left after the gold for which exports are sold is used to buy the silver in which wages are paid. A number of planters found themselves approaching a crisis as serious as that of ten years ago, and reduced their plantation hands. The number employed is less in the period between the cultivation of sugar-cane and its harvest than at any other period of the year. The introduction of American capital, by which the trunk line from Havana to Santiago has been built, the extension of the operations of the United Fruit Company, which plays a part in the politics of the Antilles little understood by Americans who eat its cheap bananas, and the large introduction of American capital, reaching, it is estimated, $150,000,000, have introduced into Cuba varied influences which have brought the first signs of a division on the color line. The insurrection leaders are very largely negro. The new elements of capital and enterprise have naturally united with the property interests of the island, with the English management of its older railways—two-thirds of the whole are owned in Great Britain—and with the plantations which center about Havana and furnish on a few short lines held by the United Railways of Havana 49 per cent. of the sugar product of the island. Together, therefore, there came discontent on the part of the former leaders of the insurrection against Spain, all of them familiar with partisan warfare, a new supply of raw material for insurrection in the shape of discharged laborers, and, thanks to the distribution of the back pay of the rebel army, by which men holding the rank of general profited by $8,000 and more in cash, a large supply of money which could instantly be used to buy arms and prepare for revolution.

These mingled conditions, economic, social, racial, and political, have brought into the cane-brakes small bands which are harrying Cuba from end to end. If President Palma's police are unable to suppress them, they promise to require American interference. The vast jungle affords a secure retreat. Of 28,000,000 acres in Cuba, 13,000,000 are still forest. Only three per cent. of its area was reported under cultivation in 1899. Taking all, the area inclosed, cities, towns, pasture, ranges, plantations, and small farms, is not over 14,000,000 acres, or half the island, and much of this is grown to jungle. Of its 60,000 farms in 1899, 38,550 were small patches of eight acres or less, growing their own tropical food. It is easy under these conditions for small bands to provide themselves with supplies. They can set at defiance a government without an army, with only 3,000 armed police (rural guards), which has left such arms as it had without repair, without care, and without providing a disciplined force to use them.

Our own instinct is to side with order against insurrection, because in our higher civilization disorder means a universal loss. There is, besides, respect for law and a local habit of keeping the peace. Roughly speaking, of the population of Cuba, a third are in the cities, caring nothing for the countryside. Of the rural population, about 1,000,000, over one-fourth, live on small farms. The other three-fourths work on large plantations. Neither of these classes feels that it is under any obligation to preserve order. For this it has always looked to the central government.

The real issue in Cuba is not between this or that party or between President Palma and his opponents, but whether the new Cuba of independence, railways, plantations, and schools has the leadership and fighting force to suppress wandering bands of negro laborers led by politicians out of a job and seeking one, or whether, being unable to do this, Cuba shall drift into disorder which will render intervention necessary.

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THE WESTERN WORLD IN CONFERENCE[1]

THREE BRAZILIAN LANDFALLS

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER

Special Representative of The Outlook at the Pan-American Conference

COULD anybody have slept through the voyage of nearly thirteen days from land to land and come on deck the morning of the second Sunday out, he might well have taken the shore in sight for the Long Island shore we had last seen. The sea and the wind have a way of casting up the same sort of sand-hills the world over. But this is South America, the first known of our twin continents, the land that Columbus saw. We must respect it, venerate it, we of the younger, lustier North! Lustier? We shall see. They say it is still the land of opportunity; industrial rediscoveries are in waiting. So *Viva Sul America!* All hail, Brazil, imperial republic!

When Long Island had dropped from sight, whales, a half-score or so, bade us welcome to the open sea. Now whales by the dozen give us greeting at the Southland's threshold. Bigger they look; merrier even. No, not all merry. Some are too concerned for their own blubber. Thrashers are plaguing them—big, sharkish-looking creatures, twenty feet long or so, jumping out of the water and coming down on the whales' backs as the latter rise to blow. Swordfish below, thrasher above, are in wicked league against the whale.

Late in the evening a glow of reflected light appears above the horizon ahead. It is the light of Pernambuco. An hour before midnight we are anchored a mile or so off shore in the open roadstead before the city. In the morning we see the place spreading long and low before us, the heavy swells raised by the trade-wind dashing white against the breakwater built upon the reef. Pernambuco is our first surprise. In Mexico the great cities are mostly on the tableland. The seaports are comparatively small in population. I had half expected to find something like Vera Cruz or Tampico at Pernambuco. But, with one exception, Brazil's great cities are seaports or river-ports. Recife de Pernambuco has over a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; it connects with the interior by a considerable railway system, and is an important distributing center as well as shipping point. With irregular sky-lines, numerous towers and domes, and rather high-pitched tiled roofs, it seems like a blending of Dutch and Spanish. The true name of the city is Recife, the Reef—capital of the great State of Pernambuco, the fourth in rank in the Brazilian union, its population 2,170,000. The three hours ashore are crowded with kaleidoscopic recollections: the river-like harbor between the reef and the mainland, crowded with shipping; the heavy trade-wind seas thundering against the great breakwater and pouring intermittent cataracts over on the quiet lee side; the handsome, massive quay with its esplanade; a riot of vivid coloring on stuccoed walls, many buildings surfaced with *azulejos*—blue and white glazed tiles; narrow and tortuous streets in the old town, wider and regular in the new; high buildings of four, five, and six stories—and stories of fifteen to twenty feet are the thing in Latin America; queer little mule-drawn street-cars passing every half-minute or so on the way to and from the extensive suburbs; streets thronged with motley

[1] The first of this series of articles, relating not only to the recent Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro but also to important phases of South American civilization, appeared in last week's Outlook. The third of Mr. Baxter's articles will appear in the October Magazine Number of The Outlook (the issue for September 22), and will be entitled Rio de Janeiro and the Conference at the Palace Monroe.—THE EDITORS.

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crowds in varying degrees of dress and undress, the upper classes burdened with clothing extraordinarily heavy for practically equatorial conditions; showers and sunshine alternating every few minutes, the humid atmosphere modified by the steady trade-wind, the temperature not uncomfortably hot; luxuriant vegetation, prodigal of flowers and fruit.

Our second landfall comes the next day in mid-forenoon. Sand-hills again and a low shore; coral sand, dazzling white, strangely suggestive of snow—petrified snow under the tropical sun; the air has an exhilarating sparkle. Now and then a *balsa* appears close at hand on the heaving sunny sea—a fragile-looking craft for blue water—two parallel bundles of sticks and a platform between under sail! Near sunset we are off the Bahia lighthouse and the embowered suburban town of Rio Vermelho. But the tropical sun drops suddenly into night. It is dark before we have rounded the point into the great calm bay and sighted the third greatest city of Brazil—San Salvador de Bahia, the capital of Bahia, the third State of the Republic, its population 2,405,000.

The Governor of the State comes on board to pay his respects to the American delegates, and leaves behind several huge baskets of the fruits for which Bahia is famous—mangoes among them, the biggest I had ever seen and correspondingly delicious: a blend of peach and muskmelon, dashed with—turpentine, the scoffers say! But they who declare the mango the supremest of wholesome fruits would agree that if turpentine could be glorified to something comparable with a non-intoxicant curaçoa it might give a faint idea of the informing flavor of the mango at its best.

Then there are the famous Bahia oranges, for whose existence every American must be profoundly grateful to the Brazilian port—every Californian especially, for it is the original navel orange, the parent of the Washington navel that has added millions upon millions to the wealth of the great Pacific State. In its native land the navel orange is as big as a pomelo, a grape-fruit—the three for-a-quarter kind. In flavor it resembles the Florida orange. And juicy! Somebody just told me that the Brazilian orange should be eaten with a sponge. That would save the juice lost in eating it Brazilian fashion: holding it with a fork, cutting off all the rind down to the pulp with a sharp knife, and then carving it into slices.

Morning reveals a great city inclosing the ample curve of the bay, built, like Cincinnati, upon the verge of a high bluff two hundred feet or so high. The haze of the tropic morning softens its features, blending the diversified masses of masonry with their superbly luxuriant garnishing of vegetation. Below the bluff runs a flat margin of lower town, a magnificent sea wall and wide quay facing it between yellow curves of beach inviting a sea bath. Streets here and there ascending to the upper town explain the diagonal lamp-lines of the night. One could see two inclined railways beside a massive architectural tower that rises to the upper level before the bluff—a picturesque vehicle for a great modern passenger elevator connected with the electric tramway system.

The panorama of the big town comprises a marvelous blending of formal civic design with a superabundant picturesqueness. Dignified high buildings—that is, according to the good old standard of pre-sky-scraper days—five stories and a uniform cornice line, form the water front. In their midst stands the monumental Bolsa—the Merchants' Exchange. The roofs of corrugated red tile—universal in Brazil—have the gentle Italian slope. The upper urban strata that crests the bluff opens out here and there for terraced garden spaces, their balustraded parapets supported by gigantic buttressed foundation walls rising from the cliff's base. Here and there stands a monumental public building, or a great church with towers and dome. Both the palace of the State and the City Hall face a formal plaza garden whose balustraded front, decorated with statues, is at the edge of the bluff, commanding glorious views of the bay and its shores. Here and there, where the streets ascend, many houses are piled against the face of the cliff. Between these masses of masonry a

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luxury of verdure grows in hanging gardens or like velvety tapestry filling huge paneled spaces. The harbor waters are enlivened by a great variety of craft, of many strange rigs and models—very common among them the bird-like feluccas of the Mediterranean—also a craft which a nautically conversant passenger said looked like "a baby three-masted schooner on a jag," each mast standing at diverse angles.

The day on shore was delightful. Some picture postals in a little café near the water front attracted me. Then came an enticing smell of roasting coffee. And now I take it all back! I have always said that I could never find good coffee in a coffee-producing country. Other travelers have told me the same—travelers in the Oriental and the Occidental tropics. They simply did not know how to make good coffee out of the best coffee in abundance. But that first experience in Bahia converted me; it showed me that the greatest coffee-growing country in the world knew what a good cup of coffee was. The café was full of men coming and going; sitting at little tables to sip coffee from little cups. Little cups! The daintily simple demi-tasses—*chicaras*, gourds, they call them—are alike all over Brazil; small after-dinner cups of pure white porcelain. That indicates how they appreciate their national beverage—not gulping it from big, thick-lipped crockery tanks, but pensively enjoying it with minute spoons, getting the full flavor of the richly concocted blend. In the Bahia café they were continually roasting the berries, continually serving the result freshly infused, continually enjoying its delicious flavor. And it was exquisite. The memory of that first cup of coffee in Brazil was something to treasure—to treasure even in Vienna should it ever be my fortune to go thither again.

I rambled over the delightful city at random. Picturesque people, picturesque mule teams, were passing up one of the zigzagging streets to the upper town. Why take one of those lazy mechanical inclines when you can go the way the people go? It turned out that the inclines and the elevator were all not running—hung up for some radical changes in the electric tramway system. So I would have had to climb afoot, anyway.

Bahia is a free-and-easy sort of city. Conventions in dress do not extend to the lower strata of society. Of the two hundred thousand odd population about seventy per cent. are negroes. But even among the whites children under ten are clothed in nothing more substantial than smiles. So it does not cost much to raise them. At the first turn of the delightful zigzag way I stopped to snapshot a pretty blond cherub—blond, though beautifully tanned all over. His bigger brothers volunteered to hold him for the occasion. Then I went on. The street seemed to zigzag up and off to the left instead of to the right towards our rendezvous at the Hotel Sul Americana. So I returned to the first acute angle where I had seen persons climbing a massive stone stairway that apparently took a short cut to the top. I started up. A trio of dusky cherubs, guardians of the threshold, fled at my approach. The persons ahead of me disappeared one by one in doorways of houses that bordered the landings of the stairs—veritable cliff dwellings, plastered one above the other against the face of the precipice like sections of a weary and disjointed sky-scraper. I climbed and climbed, higher than the top of Bunker Hill Monument, it seemed. White families and black, with swarms of garbless children of all shades, were living in amicable neighborhood without thought of drawing color lines. I finally brought up in the cul-de-sac of a combination back yard and roof garden provided with elaborate laundry facilities in a quarter where there seemed to be extremely little to launder. Turning back, near the bottom I met the friendly elder brother of the blond cherub, who in a charming voice asked, as I thought, if he could not show me the way to the summit. So I turned and clambered up again. The lad opened a gate in the wall of the back yard—the top yard, I mean—and led me up through several more top yards till we brought up against a high retaining wall on the face of the cliff.

No thoroughfare! The boy's Portuguese and my Spanish had missed connection. We turned back, and as we

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descended he said something that seemed to be equivalent to "another way up." A few doors below the stairway he led me into a doorway of a tall house and up one story, where he knocked and was given permission to lead me through by a sable "auntie" whose son joined us—a sort of black Pythias to his handsome white Damonship. Together they led me through all sorts of domestic interiors—living-rooms, kitchens, etc.—up and up through the inside of another fatigued sky-scraper, at last making the passage of a large room where some neighborly wives seemed to be having a sewing-circle, quilting-bee, or something of the sort, surrounded by a bevy of undressed kids. They seemed but mildly surprised at intrusion, though I fear my Spanish excuses were not over-intelligible. African influence is said to have corrupted Bahia Portuguese!

The last stairs led through something like a ship's deck-house, on to a roof that was level with the tropical equivalent for a cabbage-patch. Beyond this was a hillside interval in the contour of the bluff, with various fruit trees and palms. Still there was no way up. But the view was superbly Neapolitan. It appeared that this was what the lad thought I was after, for he looked inquiringly at my camera. He certainly had the sense of landscape—perhaps the making of an artist. I took several views, and followed the two boys down again. My guide was not mercenary, for with a parting smile he ran off homewards when we got to the bottom. But I called him back, and, to his wonderment, overwhelmed him with the gift of two hundred reys, all in one big nickel—worth about six cents.

I was about attempting the zigzag ascent again when a tropical shower came up, and I stepped into a sheltering doorway. It was a shop devoted to the sale of holy images. The kindly keeper asked me to come inside, and set out a chair for me before his counter. He remarked that I looked a bit *causado*, tired. A zigzag way up hill and three tropical sky-scraper ascents must have been the equivalent of at least one Washington Monument. So much exercise at once in that latitude was really a bit fatiguing. The friendly seller of holy images stepped back in the shop, brought out a bottle, produced an enormous tumbler, and urged me to refresh myself. I could not well offend such hospitality. But I was doubtful as to the beverage—its nature, its effect. I thought of the insidious Philippine *vino* and remembered I was to meet ladies from the steamer at breakfast. I asked if it might not be *unpoquito fuerte*, a little strong, and I poured out a very modest draught.

Oh no! that was too little; it was not at all strong; it was refreshing, medicinal. So I made it a quarter of a tumblerful, and drank to the health of himself and his beautiful country.

It was certainly pleasant, was mild, and it proved refreshing. My friend explained how it was simply made from a certain excellent fruit—merely macerated with a little cane sugar and left to ferment. The fruit? Oh, it was the "ginipapa," *muinto saludable*, very wholesome. What was it like? Oh, it was extremely common there. And he called to a neighbor across the narrow street and asked him to bring over a ginipapa. It was brought, and the two cronies expatiated upon its medicinal virtues. The fruit looked rather familiar, but I could not place it at the moment. It tasted piquantly pleasant, high flavored, with a suggestion of cardamoms, and was full of seeds.

We chatted for a pleasant while. I told them about going to the Conferencia Pan-Americano, and how much I was pleased with Bahia. So we three struck up a real friendship. Portuguese and Spanish worked in famously together. We each understood at least half of what the other said, often two-thirds, sometimes everything!

The rain stopped, the sun came out, the air sparkled. The seller of holy images drew a diagram of the zigzag street and the shortest way to the Sul Americana. If I would come back that way, he would have a bottle of ginipapa for me, he said, and it would not cost me a rey.

On the way up I thought and suddenly I placed the strange fruit. It was a *guayaba*, a guava, but a variety different from what I had known.

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It was a delicious breakfast at the Sul Americana. But the party came down a broader, nearer way to the water front. That day in Bahia was delightful. Delightful in particular is it to think of the friends one can make almost everywhere with friendly words and kindly thoughts. When we touch at Bahia on the way north, I will not fail to call for that bottle of ginipapa.

The Byron paced slowly to and fro before the entrance of the great bay of Rio, patiently awaiting the dawn. It was like the lazy patrolman's gait. The lighthouse high on the cliff outside the narrows sent watchful searchlight rays all around, up and down, scrutinizingly insistent. Entrance in the darkness was safe. Happily, it was forbidden by port regulations. Enter Rio at night? It would be worse than to pass Niagara without looking.

Our third Brazilian landfall, made that afternoon, had been like the vague presentiments of events to come that are said to occur to certain persons now and then. The trade-wind had ceased on the water. The cooler land breeze, slipping beneath it, had lifted it towards the mountains. The cloud-belt above the western horizon was thus of its making. On their under side these clouds were marked by indentations that seemed even more fantastically amenable to the laws of cloud-building than the cumulous apices themselves. Most passengers were incredulous when told that land was in sight. But eyes used to landfalls on high and tropical coasts—Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica—knew the signs too well not to be sure. The nether cloud-line indentations kept their shape, rigid and unchanging. The faint silhouette of hazy lavender was that of a wonderful sierra—great ranks of peaks, towering, precipitous, cloud-crowned, cloud-piercing, cloud-girdled.

The delicate vision was indeed the promise and potency of things to come. Before sunset Cape Frio stood plainly in sight, dead ahead; Cape Frio, the peak and promontory where they say a curious cold wind perpetually blows.

In the sudden dawn the land resolved itself out of the night as the photographic image realizes itself in the dark-room's dim light. First, above the gray sea there stretched in black replica what was seemingly the same silhouette of yesterday's soft vision—it was precisely the same sierra, looking almost exactly the same from the other side. Dawn advanced into day, shape grew into form, surface became substance, details defined themselves, and then the world's most beautiful landscape spread before us in the first stage of its complete creation.

Had what followed been ordered by some omnipotent will to show the face of the land and its mirror the sea at their very best in honor of the guests from the north, the wonderful event, the unforgetable experience, could not have been more perfectly arranged for our benefit. The best pictures, the most consummate paintings, can but faintly suggest the supreme actuality. Words cannot begin to induce the emotions that nature thus arouses. Some cynic has said that the world is practically the same everywhere—wrinkled up into rock-foldings like the corrugations of a rough-shelled gourd, strewn with detritus and sand, splashed over with water, moss-grown here and there as with patches of grass and trees. And little red ants crawling around upon the gourd would look up and about amidst the corrugations just as men look up and about upon the mountains, the seas, and the forests. That may all be true. But what is the truth of Nature's prosaic facts beside her own higher verity—the poetry that she herself weaves out of her simplest facts? Thereby she plays upon our every sense with the fingers of her substance.

Full daylight! We began to steam up the bay. It spread before us like a vast lake, calm as a mill-pond in the morning quiet, rimmed with mountains, filled with high rocky islands, fortress-flanked and castle crowned; precipitous headlands, villas and palaces, convents and churches, perched upon precipices, nestling against mountain flanks, the richest of tropic verdure draping everything except where the stone-faced hills were too steep for forest growth. A mildly romantic landscape broken into peaks thrusting their abrupt forms high into the heavens and dropping thence in sheer precipices of a

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thousand feet and more. The violence of a primal cataclysm soothed by the calm of ages; an angry sea petrified into stillness—something like that it seemed. But the foundation is granitic, not volcanic; with all the strenuous wildness of form there were the same nobility of contours, the same liberal, largely rounded modulations that granite shows the world over, whether at Cape Ann or in the Yosemite. But what a convulsion, to have shattered and splintered the smooth-faced planes of rock into these fantastic crags!

The successive revelations of the landscapes, unfolding as we steamed up the bay, made it like a presence at some wonderful symphony's production, new melodies, new harmonies, exquisite tone-modulations, at every turn. Everything that a master-painter—a painter like Turner—could dream of seemed to realize itself here; landscape, atmosphere, architecture, color, everything. The great city before us seemed a dream of beauty in itself—spreading itself over the shore, mounting the foothills, surging up into every valley, narrow or broad, with its sea of buildings; bringing tremendous mountains into the municipal limits with its urban embrace. Fancy New York somehow getting Mount Chocorua into Central Park, and planting Schooner Head from Mount Desert upon Morningside Heights, and you get a very faint glimmering of what Rio de Janeiro is—the wonderful peak of Pão d'Assucar (Sugar Loaf) flanking the Narrows, the equally striking peak of Corcovado rising directly out of the city itself.

In this glorious spectacle there was one supreme moment. The mountains above the city were banked with clouds. A hazy veil, delicate as the memory of a morning dream, was floating midway across the peak of Pão d'Assucar. Just the tip of Corcovado's peak appeared above the clouds. Then the sun rose and flushed the cloud-bank with rose. It was like the signal for a stage-transformation. Instantly the clouds rolled back, lifting like a curtain. The mountains stood revealed in every massive feature, every luxurious fold of sylvan drapery—Corcovado a junior Jungfrau clad in verdurous tapestry in lieu of frigid snows.

THE TREND TOWARD A PURE DEMOCRACY

BY PHILIP L. ALLEN

WITH the development, or, better, resuscitation, of a sound, informed, and vigilant public opinion in this country, as manifested in the many victories over privilege in the very recent past, there have been developed new agencies for the expression of that same public opinion. The people are assuming more direct control than ever before of our public affairs. The referendum, the initiative, and the "recall," the "neighborhood town-meeting," the demand for the popular election of Senators, the unprecedented growth of independent voting, and ballot reform, may properly be considered as merely different aspects of a larger tendency which is bringing this Nation, even while it grows in size, closer to the conditions of a pure democracy.

The referendum itself, the quintessence of direct popular participation in the government, is as yet a question chiefly for the future. The optional referendum has been adopted by South Dakota, Utah, Oregon, Nevada, and Montana. Oregon, South Dakota, and a number of cities have the initiative, which makes possible the passage of a particular law without any action of the Legislature. The woman suffrage provision voted down in Oregon in the spring of 1906 represented the first attempt made in this country to amend a State constitution with no action whatever by the Legislature. Illinois, Texas,

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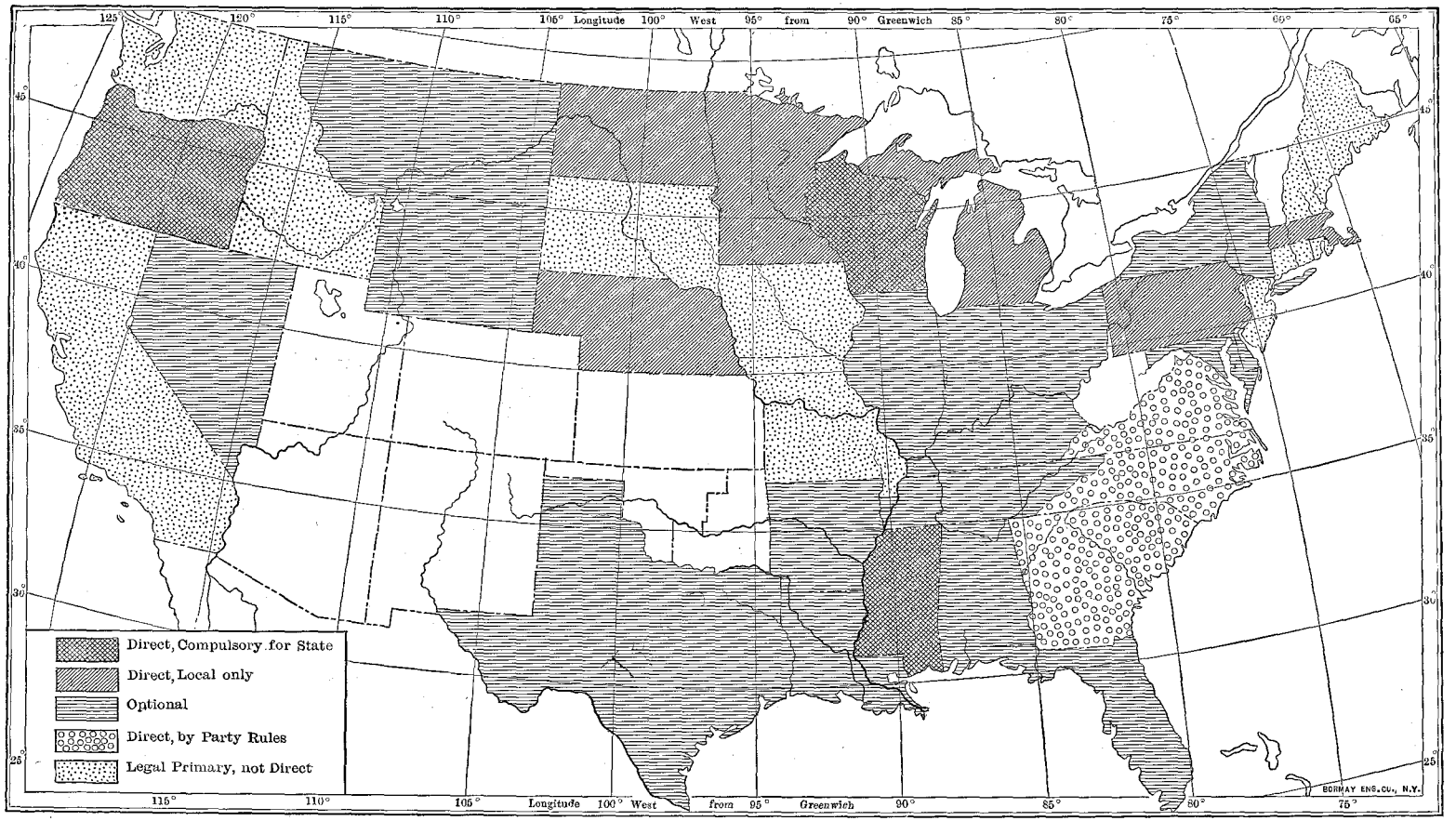

PRIMARY LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Since no two States have primary laws exactly alike, this classification necessarily takes into account only the main characteristics. The first class includes the States which nominate all candidates by direct vote, holding no State conventions at all. The second includes those which nominate thus for certain offices only. The third, those in which direct nominations are optional. In the fourth class the party organizations have created direct primary systems without action by the legislative authority. The States in the last group are those in which nominating conventions are still held, but the choice of delegates is safeguarded by law in the same manner as the actual election. As regards the direct nomination feature, the States classed as "optional" vary greatly. Some, like New York, have made practically no use of the right, while others have virtually discontinued conventions. This map is compiled chiefly from information furnished by Dr. Charles McCarthy, Librarian of the Legislative Reference Library at Madison, Wisconsin.

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and Delaware have modified, advisory systems of direct legislation. In all the States, however, the practice of submitting new laws to the people by special act, as was done with Wisconsin's new primary law, seems to be becoming more common, while as regards constitutional amendments and questions of taxation the referendum is already nearly universal in this country. The recall, which permits voters to take an official out of office by a legal process closely analogous to that by which they put him in, first developed in Los Angeles, has been copied only by Seattle and a small group of California cities. We have seen repeated proposals to establish a sort of neighborhood town-meeting by which city voters might be brought closer to the questions of government affecting their interests; and Newport, by adopting a city charter providing for a Council of 195 members, is making a similar effort to shorten the gap between the lawmakers and the people themselves.

The advocates of popular election of United States Senators are working to accomplish somewhat the same thing for what has hitherto been the least responsive of legislative bodies to popular sentiment. The House of Representatives has five times passed a resolution for changing the mode of election to the other body, and such a measure has once been reported by a Senate Committee. Moreover, as Professor George H. Haynes records in his recent book on the "Election of Senators," thirty-one State Legislatures have taken action favoring popular election. Committees of Correspondence on good colonial models have been established, and at the date of this writing preparations are making for a meeting of State representatives in Iowa to discuss ways and means of bringing about the desired change.

While the agitation for the legal election of Senators by popular vote has thus far been ineffectual, a good many States have adopted the next best plan by nominating party candidates for every vacant Senatorship, and trusting that the Legislature, when the time comes, will elect the candidate already picked out by the party which has a majority. The biographical sketches in the official Congressional Directory give many illustrations of the spread of these systems of virtual popular election. Senator Foster, of Louisiana, who properly belongs to the class of Senators whose terms expire in 1907, was so certain that the Legislature would merely ratify the choice of the Democratic primary that at the beginning of the 1906 session his biography was made to state, "His term of service will expire March 3, 1913." Legally, no 1913 class yet exists at all. Senator Latimer, of South Carolina, made no mention whatever of the Legislature to which he legally owed his seat. "He was elected to the United States Senate," says the Directory, "by 17,700 majority over J. G. Evans." Besides these there are the Senators, like Dubois, of Idaho, and Hopkins, of Illinois, who were nominated by the State conventions of their respective parties exactly as gubernatorial candidates would have been. Thirty vacancies will occur in the Senate in 1907. Fifteen of these have already been filled at the date of this writing (July, 1906), or will be filled, by methods that approximate popular election. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia employ the direct primary under either State law or party rule. Idaho, South Dakota, and Nebraska will have candidates nominated in convention along with the State tickets, North Carolina will re-elect by legislative action alone a Senator originally chosen by the direct primary, while in New Jersey and doubtless other States campaigns for the Senatorship will be so active that most legislative candidates will make pledges upon the Senatorship part of their individual platforms. It is not at all visionary to expect, with the laws already enacted and the campaigns for the direct primary now going on in States like Iowa, Washington, South Dakota, and Maryland, that within the next ten years, before any popular election amendment could probably be passed, a full half of the Senate will be virtually chosen by the people in one or the other of the ways here described.

The circle of a boss's power is com-

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plete only when he has control over the nomination of candidates, and when the body of voters will make a fetish of "regularity," accepting without question every nomination that bears the requisite party label. Obviously this power is no stronger than its weakest part. If the boss cannot confer nominations, within reasonable limits, upon whom he will, he has lost his sway, no matter how slavish the members of his party are in voting the straight ticket. On the other hand, the most perfect control of the nominating machinery avails him very little if his people have no scruples against voting the ticket of the other party when he offers a man whom they do not like.

It is through the direct primary, of course, that the people are assuming control over the making of party nominations. And one singular fact about the spread of this reform in the North has been its adoption by State after State practically before it has been tested. La Follette's proposal to have United States Senators nominated in the primary was criticised as dangerous and almost revolutionary no longer ago than 1902. That feature of the Wisconsin law will not be tried till 1908, yet the next two States to pass primary laws, Illinois and Oregon, both adopted it on faith. The direct primary is, indeed, a splendid example of the way in which an idea can prevail in this country on purely theoretical grounds. A few States were willing to take the risk of an experiment with the new plan, but their neighbors, convinced that it is intrinsically right, have followed on without waiting to see how the experiments turn out.

In the subjoined map are shown graphically the localities having the direct primary, compulsory or optional, for State or local offices, whether by law or party rule, together with those which have the legalized but not the direct primary for the choice of delegates.

All party nominations, however, depend for their peculiar value on the number of people who will vote them regardless of personal preferences. If such people did not make up the rank and file of parties, and a candidate had to throw himself on the mercy of citizens who considered his case individually and compared him with his several opponents, he might almost as well run as an out-and-out independent, having his name put on the ballot by petition, like Mr. Jerome's. "I have no patience," declared Mr. Hanna, "with the man who bolts his party because he is not satisfied with the candidate."

That is the feeling against which independent voting everywhere has had to contend; yet that the independents do hold the balance of power in this country is sufficiently shown by the fact that our elections do not always result the same way. If every voter accepted the politicians' theory, they would. Only an epidemic to which membership in one party conferred immunity could ever make a State or a city Democratic one year and Republican the next. If the attempt be made to calculate the shift of votes between elections, the "stay-at-home" vote presents an immediate complication. Mr. Roosevelt's tremendous plurality in 1904, for instance, was not due to the Democrats who for once voted the Republican ticket, but to the Democrats who did not vote at all. There were really about three Democratic deserters to one Republican recruit, and the total vote in the year of this unprecedented victory was actually smaller than in either of the elections since 1892.

The degree of discrimination between candidates for different offices, however, can be computed with a fair degree of accuracy. This is, in another form, simply the question how far a popular candidate runs "ahead of his ticket." If every voter accepted the politicians' theory, no candidate would ever run ahead of his ticket. As it is, the practice of ticket-splitting constitutes a most effective veto upon distasteful nominations. Its prevalence is the inverse measure of a bad candidate's chance of being "pulled through" by the good nominees of the same party. So the spirit of intelligent independence deserves to be encouraged no more by the theorist than by the strong partisan who believes in making his party maintain a high standard for the men it puts into office.

Now, while willingness to change from

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one party to the other has always been a characteristic of the American electorate, this discrimination between the several candidates of the same party has had a sudden and striking growth only within the last few years.

The simplest way to demonstrate this will be to determine the proportion of voters who each election have made opposite decisions upon State and National issues, preferring a President of one party and a Governor of the other.

In 1896 the net proportion of those who voted for one party's candidate for President and the other's for Governor, the country over, was only .38 of one per cent.

In 1900 the corresponding figure was 1.22 per cent.

In 1904 it was 7.57 per cent.

That is to say, the voters of this country manifested at the last Presidential election more than six times as much discrimination as they had four years previous, and more than *nineteen times* as much as at the election before that!

So much for the general average. In particular States the record went far above these figures. If, in each State, whether it elected a Governor or not, we compare the vote of the party's candidate who ran best with the one who ran worst, we find ten States in which the degree of discrimination was ten per cent. or over. These were: Minnesota, 31.07 per cent.; Washington, 22.63; Montana, 18.38; Michigan, 17.01; Kansas, 16.51; Massachusetts, 15.00; Nevada, 14.27; Wisconsin, 12.99; Rhode Island, 11.87; and Wyoming, 10.34. In all the previous Presidential elections I can find only one instance of more than ten per cent. of ticket-splitting. After the election returns were completed in 1904, a Minnesota Republican resented rather hotly the assertion that his State had made the highest record in the Union for independent voting. "That wasn't independent voting!" he exclaimed. "It was merely that they wanted a Swede for Governor." But even granting his point, the essential fact is that some seventy-five thousand Minnesotans did not allow their desire for a Swede Governor to interfere with their desire for Roosevelt as President. Lincoln Steffens explained the election of the notorious "Doc" Ames as Mayor of Minneapolis on the ground that "the great American people cannot be trusted to scratch a ticket." Yet that same city in 1904, two years after he wrote, went far beyond even the record-breaking State in the extent of its ticket-scratching, having 49 per cent. to 31 for the State as a whole. On the same ballot it gave Republican Presidential electors 22,000 plurality, a Democratic Governor 11,000, and a Republican Mayor 200 plurality, the last candidate being the very man who as acting Mayor had been at the head of the municipal house-cleaning after Ames ran away in 1902.

Manifestly, then, whether it be a good thing or not, the tether of partisanship has been greatly lengthened. But this growth of independent voting in itself ought to focus attention on the mechanism of voting. The "Australian ballot" still covers a multitude of tricks and hampering devices. It is stated in many of the political handbooks that all but three of our States have adopted "ballot reform laws." But the reform which was sought at the time of the general movement of the early nineties was merely the securing of a secret ballot furnished by the State and cast under legal safeguards. The reform of our ballots in such a way as to secure a really free expression from the voters, as we have already secured a fair count, has been only begun.

It is surprising how general is the belief that the ballots used in all parts of the country are much the same, and that even if they were not, this would be a matter of very little moment. Among the humors of the 1905 municipal campaign in New York were letters from residents of other States protesting that the instructions published for splitting a ticket in Jerome's behalf were all wrong. The statutes of Pennsylvania and other States with totally different ballots were gravely cited to prove that the marking of a single cross was not the proper way to vote for the Independent District Attorney. Really a classification of the ballots in use in this country, if it concerned itself with all their multifarious features, size and shape, emblems and

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their absence, party columns, position of the marking space, rules for marking and the like, would scarcely leave any two under the same caption. But with reference to the relative ease of independent voting the whole forty-five may be embraced in four main groups.

To illustrate, suppose that at a certain election ten elective positions are to be filled. Peter and Paul go to the polls together, Peter intending to vote for ten Republicans, while Paul prefers nine Republicans and one Democrat. If they live in Massachusetts, they must each mark the names of their chosen candidates separately, and are on an exact equality, with ten crosses apiece. If they live in New York, they each make one mark in the Republican party circle, while Paul thereafter makes a second mark opposite the name of his chosen Democrat. If they live in Michigan, Paul, besides his extra mark, has to draw a line through the name of the Republican nominee for the same office, which is after all a very simple and natural thing for him to do. If they live in Indiana, Peter makes his single mark in the Republican circle as before, but Paul this time is not allowed to do so. He must mark his nine Republicans and one Democrat separately. If they live in Missouri, finally, both Peter and Paul select the Republican ballot from a bundle of separate strips handed them at the polls, and Paul, scratching out one name, writes in that of his Democrat, while Peter deposits his slip unaltered. We have already stated the actual amount of discrimination in voting by means of percentage figures. It is only necessary now to compare class with class according to the distinction just made.

There are four States where, in the imaginary election, Paul would be put to ten times as much trouble as Peter. The average range of discrimination in voting in these States was, in 1904, 4.85 per cent. There are thirteen States where Paul would be put to twice as much trouble as Peter. In these the average of discrimination was 7.91 per cent. There were five States where Peter and Paul would make the same number of marks, and in these the average of discrimination was 18.11 per cent.—more than thrice that in the first group.

It may be added that a comparison shows precisely the same result if the Presidential vote be eliminated and the comparison be made by State tickets alone, or if the candidates for Governor be also eliminated and only minor State offices be considered. This last comparison gives, in a way, the fairest test of all, for, though the personality of a few popular candidates for the important office of Governor might greatly swell the apparent amount of independent voting by the former comparisons, no such factors would affect the returns for State treasurers, auditors, dairy and food commissioners, and the like.

It is not a theory, therefore, but a demonstrable fact that the form of the ballot affects powerfully the result of our elections. It seems to be true that our people go to the polls with some of their preferences as regards candidates so slight that if the ballot puts obstacles in the way they will sacrifice them. Of the ten capital instances given above for independent voting as regards Presidential and gubernatorial candidates, five were registered under ballot laws which required the marking of every candidate voted under all circumstances and eliminated the customary premium on straight ticket voting.

To give the people opportunity to express their will directly upon specific matters of legislation, to give them the control over nominations so long exercised by the bosses, to encourage them in disregarding those nominations when they prove unfit, to give them electoral machinery ballot laws which will put as little obstacle as possible in the way of this new spirit of independence—these are not political panaceas, but merely simpler methods for enabling public sentiment to make itself felt. Some of them now, in their experimental stages, are working very much better than others. All of them are rather worse than useless unless the citizens continue to use their new opportunities.

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THE FOUNDATIONS[1]

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE

The tercentennial at Plymouth on the first day of August had much more significance than belongs to most anniversaries. It marked, appropriately, the course of an epoch of three centuries which, as we all know, have no parallel in history. We are used to celebrations of Forefathers' Day—the shortest day in the year—when the Fathers and Mothers landed at Plymouth. In every such celebration, however, all parties remember that it was an organized company of Christian men and women who were carrying forward this great enterprise. That company had been organized for fourteen years. It had been formed by a company of Christian people who met as a church at the home of William Brewster in Scrooby in England. These people bound themselves to each other to walk as God should direct them. From William Bradford's Chronicle we know that they met on Sundays for worship at the house of William Brewster, who was afterwards through his life an "Elder" in this company and was one of those who founded Plymouth in 1620. Brewster was at that time the Master of the Post at that place, where he lived in a hunting lodge belonging to the Archbishop of York. The congregation which united there at once attracted the animosity of the English hierarchy. Such were the persecutions to which they were subjected that in 1607 and 1608 they fled to Holland, where they established themselves at Leyden. Their minister through this time was John Robinson. When they came to America, they expected and he expected that he would follow them here. But Robinson died before "the sight." In William Bradford's history of Plymouth Plantation he gives this account of this covenant: "They joined themselves into a church estate (by a covenant of the Lord) in the fellowship of the Gospel to walk in all His ways made known or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it shall cost them." Bound together by this covenant, they "continued about a year" in England. But in 1607 they were compelled to flee to Holland. King James the Fool succeeded thus in executing his own promise that he "would harry them out of the country." From Bradford's history we learn thus that this company was formed about a year before the forced emigration to Holland. Bradford does not give any specific date; and the church at Plymouth determined on the first of August as a fit time for celebrating its foundation and properly noticing the beginning of its fourth century. It is to be observed that the Bradford covenant is not accompanied by any creed. It is therefore to this hour a formula singularly fortunate for the union of the Free Church of America. It expresses very precisely now the wish of people who wish to walk together with the Lord's assistance in the fellowship of the Gospel.

THREE hundred years ago these people "joined themselves by a covenant of the Lord!" They joined themselves to walk together in all His ways made known or to be made known to them. They would do this "whatever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them."

Together—with the Lord's help. It proved that this was to be the motto of the new civilization of the world.

As it has proved, the handful of people who made that declaration and lived up to it introduced a new system of government. They announced the two principles, first, of the action of all *together*, and, second, of co-operation with the God of the Universe. It has proved that on these two principles the government of the world is to rest.

These principles had been announced fifteen hundred and seventy-seven years before, in the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Now this handful of men in Scrooby, when they united together, and promised to walk together with God, whatever "it might cost them," practically carried into human society the great experiment of the practical application of these two principles. We are to try, with brevity only too

[1] The Outlook has already published an account of the interesting services at Plymouth on the first day of August. We print here in full Dr. Hale's address on that occasion.—THE EDITORS.

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severe, to trace the victory of these two principles in the three great centuries of modern history. And, chiefly, in that nineteenth century which we still call our own.

The mysterious Dr. Zincke, in words which have seemed prophetic since Darwin quoted them, says with truth that this emigration is something quite unique in human history. "It is the main stream in the history of man. All other series of events appear to have purpose and value only when viewed in connection with it."

Carlyle had said before him: "What ship Argo or miraculous epic ship, built by the sea gods, was other than a foolish bumbarge in comparison" with the Mayflower.

No sooner does one study the philosophy of history, of which the other name is the Providence of God, than one finds illustrations of this majestic advance of the three great centuries just now ended.

WALK WITH GOD

And of the two great conditions we will speak first of all of the closer walk with God. "Ye are all kings; ye are all priests," this is the word which the seer of Patmos spoke to the Seven Churches in Asia. This is the word which summoned the little company three hundred years ago in that chapel of Brewster's home, most sacred of all places of worship since "the upper chamber" in Jerusalem. "Ye are all kings, and ye are all priests." No one shall go to King James to ask him from what prayer-book he shall read. No one shall go to the Archbishop of Canterbury or of York to ask him what bell shall summon him to worship. No! Every morning the father of every family shall summon his children to prayer; and no one this side the Holy Spirit shall say in what syllables he shall stammer out his thanks and petitions. "Ye are all priests," and this handful of men and women believed and took joy in their belief. And because they believed this we are here this day; this Nation is here to-day, this world of Christendom is what it is to-day! Because every man and woman and child can come to the good God alone, child to the Father, can enter his joy, can breathe in life from his life—can go about our Father's business.

I will not say that they forgot this when shut up in the workshops of Leyden. But we who are here are men and women of the frontier, almost of the wilderness. We are almost every man of us within four generations of a log cabin, so we know how the open-air life of a pioneer teaches this lesson. We know how near a man is to God when he lies in his blanket on the mountains, close to the stars of heaven; we know what it is to launch a canoe on God's river and let God's river carry it to God's sea; we know what it is to see God's sun in his heavens draw up God's mists from God's ocean and lift them to distill on God's mountains, and so send God's rivers rushing through God's valleys that they may plunge in God's waterfalls to turn *our* mill-wheels, which are to drive *our* looms and weave *our* cotton. To work with God, we know that. Because we are pioneers we know what it is thus to work with God and have God work with us. We are! He IS. We are his children. He is our Father. He is, I AM. And because he is we are, because he is we are what we are—we are partakers of the divine nature if we will, and so we share his omnipotence.

We might well spend to-day in the study of this closer walk with God as it has distinguished the three centuries which we are celebrating. I have here at hand, and if the time permitted I should be glad to read, an official document from the Bureau of Labor at Washington which shows how every average man in America to-day wields one thousand times the physical force which his grandfather wielded in the year 1800. So much forward advance has man, the child, made in using the resources offered to him by God the Father, when He said to him, "Subdue the world." In the year 1800 the power developed in the steam-engines of the United States was less than five thousand horse-power. To-day more power than that is represented in the whistles which are sounding in our ears as we meet here together in the home of the Pilgrims. To cross the ocean in the Mayflower the hundred Pilgrims borrowed from what they would

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have called nature—the east wind, the north wind, the south wind; and they fought *against* the western gales. And next week, whoever of you among their descendants chooses to return to the English Plymouth will borrow from Omnipotence more power for that week's voyage than the Sultan Cheops had in the reign of a generation with which to build the great pyramid which was once the wonder of the world.

Your grandfather's mother, that he might be fitly clothed, stood through the day at the loom where her own hand pushed the shuttle back and forth to weave the threads which her own fingers had spun from the wool which her own hands had carded from the fleece which perhaps those same hands had clipped from the sheep on her own hillside. And to-day all this work is done for you by the right hand of God, as the rain descends and the dew from heaven, as water changes into steam and steam drops again into water. For in this last century the child of God has renewed his alliance with God. He uses God-given faculties to interpret for him God-given law. It is not we who work, it is the Spirit of our Father who worketh in us.

To walk with God. That was one part of the promise of the Covenant which to-day we celebrate. The child with the Father, the Father with the child. Man is a creator also. And man allies himself with the Father whose life is in his life, shall I say? whose blood is in his veins. In these three modern centuries, and most of all our century, the nineteenth, the history has been this copartnership of those who are partakers of the divine nature with the Present God who IS.

One would be glad to recollect this to-day in the fitting commemoration of one or another of the great men who have thus worked in the formation of this great alliance. Take the great Scotsman, James Watt, for instance—he will prove, a thousand years hence, to be the great man in the history of the nineteenth century. Napoleon Bonaparte, his battles and his wars, are nothing—worthless and forgotten as you compare him with the great Watt who seized God's laws of expansion and condensation and called into existence what Walter Scott so well called the "Giant Afrite" who from that moment has done the slave work of mankind.

What is the secret of such victories? It is in the announcement which six centuries have made, in a thousand different forms, of what *Law* is. It is the announcement of the kindred truth that more and more men use the pronoun "who" instead of the pronoun "which" when they speak of Law. More and more we spell Nature with a large N, as Horatio Stebbins said so well. More and more we speak of the Law *who* rules the universe rather than of the law *which* rules the universe.

This change in the habit of men came, and could not but come, as in every form of physical science or in every form of metaphysical inquiry we had the Unity of Law forced upon us. It is not a little Vulcan who has managed heat for us, or a little Æolus who is managing wind; and some Zeus who handles the lightning. No. Physicists and metaphysicians unite to teach us of the Correlation of forces. This is all one Force, they say. Magnetism is electricity; electricity is born from heat, and heat from electricity—as you please. Here is one absolute Law—the same for Arcturus as in Orion; the same in Orion as in Uranus or in Saturn; the same in this world as in Jupiter or in Uranus; the same in the First Church in Plymouth as in Tientsin or in Botany Bay. There is one Law. For instance, Truth, Honor, and Justice are "not provincialisms of this little world." They are as well the Law in the planet too far away for men to look upon it, which is in the center of the universe of God.

Of course, in the discovery of the unity of Law, to which every month of every year gives new illustration, the men of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should have known better than ever men knew before how God is, whether in the flight of the sparrow or the curve of the orbit of a planet. And such new life and confidence shows itself in every study of the moral forces which more and more have governed the passage of these centuries. Man walks with

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God—as the Plymouth Covenant said—and God walks with man.

TOGETHER

AND these men whose work we celebrate to-day—these men in the chapel of the hunting lodge of the Archbishop of York, while they consecrated themselves thus to walk with God, renewed the other Gospel injunction—they put it into practice for the first time when they agreed that in this walk with God they would walk—

Together!

Yes! in the beginning I doubt not that the handful of disciples in Jerusalem walked together. In the fifty days before Pentecost, and perhaps in the year which followed, the statesmen from Herod's Cabinet had walked with Dorcas, the mender of linen. In those days of the infancy, Joseph, Duke of Arimathea, walked with blind Bartimeus, the beggar, who had learned to see—but not since then.

"To walk together, whatever it might cost them;" and dear old William Bradford adds grimly, "How much it cost them you shall see."

Yes, before then the world had—in the sixteen centuries—seen handfuls of men agree to walk together. Bernard had taken into the Valley of Brigands twelve other priests or monks who were willing to work together and make it the "Clara Vallis" of centuries. But this was the together of the ecclesiastics. It was as two or three Roman augurs might meet together on the steps of the Temple of Jupiter. It was as Annas and Caiaphas and Gamaliel and the boy Paul might meet together at the Temple at Jerusalem. And, as Caiaphas might say to Gamaliel, "This people—these dregs of the slums who know not the Law—is cursed." The together of Bernard and Clara Vallis is the together of a class. The England which drives these men to Leyden is governed by these frocked priests who have the privilege of the clergy; or by these landowning gentry who have the privileges of wealth. But we bind ourselves together, *all* of us. So much is it to know that we are all priests and all kings. The man behind the hoe, and the man who stands at the loom to weave fustian, and the man who works as a day-laborer for the Leyden tradesmen, walk with Brewster, the accomplished diplomat, or William Bradford, the scholar, or John Robinson, the prophet. These men covenant all to walk together—high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant. They will bear each other's burdens. Whatever any man owns, his property is to him a God-given trust for the public good. "Each for all and all for each."

Do not forget that fourteen years after, in the cabin of the Mayflower at Provincetown, every man of them, representing every family of them, signs what I may call the renewal of the "covenant of together." The apprentice signs, the servant signs, on the same paper where the master signs. Where the soldier Miles Standish signs, Edward Doty and Edward Lester, the poor creatures who fought the duel afterwards, sign, all the same, with John Carver and William Bradford. In this duty, that is, in work with God, they are all together. All for each, as each for all.

In that covenant, though if you please they did not themselves suspect it, the government for the people, of the people, by the people, began. I do not think they knew it. They builded better than they knew. But modern government began when in this covenant these men agreed to walk together.

We will walk with God. Yes! and we will ALL walk with him. We will ALL walk together.

ALL

Now you must give me five minutes to repeat this over and over again. We cannot say it too much. We cannot say it too often. What it means can be expressed in two words. Or it may be extended, if you please, over the lectures and systems and constitutions of centuries.

The two words are: Universal Suffrage. I do not suppose John Carver or William Bradford knew this; I know that John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley did not know this; but, all the same, these fundamental words meant "Each for all and all for each." *All* for each. *All.* It is not, as in China, a union of

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educated scholars working together for the benefit of the State. It is not, as in Rome, a union of ecclesiastics banded all together for the benefit of the State. It is not, as in any feudal country, the union of barons and squires and knights of the shire for the better rule of the State. No! Every man of us joins with every other man, and centuries after it shall prove that the government of the whole is confided to the whole.

They had made Scripture their oracle, and in their Scripture they had plenty of authority. "God has made of one blood all races of men." "Ye are all kings and all priests." "Go and preach this gospel to every creature." "Ye are all brethren." "That we may be perfected into one." Of such authorities as these and a thousand others they were not yet to grasp the full meaning. But, happily, let me reverently say, under God's own guidance, they laid the foundation, even in the beginning. As they laid out their homes here each man had his title from the Company, with never a lease nor a rent charge nor the tithe of a farthing in that title. Only every man must pay the tax which the whole Company directs. And each man's title shall be written down in the Company's book, and so the Company maintains for him his right to the home which is his castle. Thus We the People institute in this hamlet that registration of titles which this little hamlet has taught to the whole civilized world.

Centuries go on, and in this word Together, in the habit and practice which grow out of it, the People takes the whole charge of all that belongs to the common weal. The individual cares for his separate likings or needs. But if *everybody* needs anything, the People, in the people's majesty, grants it to all. Justice? Yes, justice for all. Education? Yes, education for all. Health? Yes, health for all. Roads? Yes, roads for all. And so in detail as time goes on. Water? Yes, water for all? Light? Yes, light for all. Books? Yes, books for all. Beacons on the seashore? Yes, beacons for all. The weather map on the land? Yes, the State provides it for all.

A letter from Tokyo to blind Bartimeus in his cabin on Billington Sea? Yes, a delivery of the mail at his cabin door.

And, of course, this bounty has its correlative duties. Is Joseph's house or Herod's house on fire, the magistrate may order me, as I come home from my club, to mount to the highest ladder with the pipe and hose which are to control the flame. Or if Burgoyne comes down in triumph with his Indians and his Brunswickers, We the People compel every man to appear at our muster with his own gun on his shoulder, his own powder in his horn, his own bullets in his pocket. We have even compelled him to keep them ready lest we might need them. Every man must come. The poor Tory whimpers; he says he loves King George, he says his own brother is a groom in Windsor. We tell him grimly that we have not asked his opinion about King George. We the People have commanded him to go and fight King George's soldiers.

All for each and each for all.

It is mere matter of history that with the crisis of the American Revolution this fundamental truth of Christian politics asserted itself, even in the destruction of traditional ecclesiastical creeds. If a man were good enough to die for his country at Bennington or at Stillwater, nobody should tell that man that he was incapable of good. If there were no separate distinguished class in the State, there should be no separate and distinguished class at the bar of heaven. Calvinism and all its blasphemous machinery of Election and Reprobation and those foreordained to be damned vanished as a star vanishes before the rising of the sun. And as soon as the American Constitutions adjusted themselves to the new order, so soon "universal suffrage," though men did not know it, was born.

And so We the People rule the State. All of us rule it. It is not the wise men alone. It is not those men who have been ordained by a clergy, it is not the rich men. It is We the People. It is "*All* of us."

Let no man deceive himself, let no man talk of a "margin," of a "native aristocracy," of examinations in government as you might have examinations in

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chemistry. No substitute or viceroy is to take the place of the Sovereign. We the People ordain. We the People execute what we ordain. We the People choose our servants. We the People remove them when we please.

Let no man deceive himself. Let no man think that it is mere wisdom that succeeds, that it is science that succeeds, or that it is money that succeeds, or armies that succeed. It is goodness that succeeds. It is they who walk with God who succeed!

Let no man say that in 1950 these States will be governed by money, or by intrigue, or by this or that sect. These States will be governed then as they are governed now, by the People of these States. At least the People will know what they want, and the man who stands here in the year 1950 will be showing you how the Moral Forces govern America. It is not the dead weight of iron or gold or silver. It is the Moral Forces that use the iron and the gold and the silver.

The annual spasmodic efforts of a thousand or two little ecclesiastical sects, each trying to imitate the failure of the Church of Rome, will be considered less and less. Thus the third protest of the Seventh Secession from the last confederation of the Disunited Malcontents of this name or that name will be less and less attractive. But, with this ritual or that, the Free Church of America will assert its simple gospel with the omnipotence of its great ally. For America believes in God the Father Almighty, the God who is at hand, and the men of America who are his children mean to work together in his service. This is their motto: "Together with God." They do not intrust their rights to any army, they fight their own battles. Their hands are not tied by any clergy. For themselves they come to God. They are not bought, they are not ordered; they unite together. God with man, man with God, interpret the covenants, strengthen the ties of union, that the world may be perfected into One. So has the evolution of three centuries interpreted this Covenant of Scrooby in the beginning.

We will walk with God. And we will walk Together.

CHRIST'S SECRET OF HAPPINESS

IX.—THE HONORS OF PEACE

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

THE peacemakers not only are the children of God; they are recognized as such. Many of God's children go through the world incognito. It may even be said of them as it was said of Christ, "He hath a devil." Many virtues are unappreciated. Peacemaking the world appreciates. It recognizes the value of the peacemaker. The peacemakers are *called* the children of God. When at the opportune moment Theodore Roosevelt suggested to Russia and to Japan the advisability of entering into negotiations for bringing the war to a close, and succeeded by his conferences in this country with representatives of those nations in harmonizing their differences, and so put an end to the terrible bloodshed, the whole world honored him and the country which he represented. It is by no means certain that as much was not accomplished for the welfare of humanity by the emancipation of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines; but the whole world did not recognize this emancipation as an act divinely conceived. General Grant's saying at Appomattox Court House, "Let us have peace," will live in men's memories long after that other notable saying of his, uttered in the Wilderness, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," has fallen into oblivion. War-making may sometimes be as divine an act as peacemaking, but its divineness is not as universally recognized.

The peacemaker may make peace by

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intervening to prevent war, but whether the war be threatened or actual, whether it be between nations or individuals, such intervention is always hazardous. To make it successful requires a clear understanding of the conditions of the war and the causes which have led to it, some measure of sympathy with both parties, a seizure of the right moment for the intervention, and a combination of tact and forcefulness in the execution of the peacemaker's purpose. If any one of these elements is lacking, the peacemaker is liable to aggravate the contention which he wishes to prevent. "He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears," is an ancient proverb, and history abundantly justifies it. It requires at least as much skill, if not as much study, to make peace between contending parties as to conduct a war.

But there are other ways of making peace.

One may be a peacemaker by simply refusing to fight except when duty inexorably summons him to the combat. It takes two to make a quarrel; he who refuses to be one of the two is a peacemaker. So Abram made peace when he gave to Lot the choice of the land: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

One may make peace by possessing a spirit of peace which he diffuses about him wherever he goes. A peaceful heart in the midst of turmoil and contention is itself a peacemaker. Such a one says by his life what the Master said in words: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you." Who has not known sometimes a strong man, oftener a sainted woman, whose very presence has diffused such an atmosphere of peace that strife and contention die out when he enters the room? The battle of words is abated; half-drawn swords are returned to their scabbards; the lightning gleam dies out from the eyes; the clenched fist relaxes, and perhaps presently the palms of the two combatants are brought together in a cordial handshake. The peacemaker has made peace without knowing that he did it, but others present have known, and in their hearts blessed the unconscious peacemaker.

Sometimes the warrior is a peacemaker. "If it be possible," says Paul, "as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Sometimes it does not lie in us; sometimes it is not possible. It did not lie in Christ to live peaceably with men who were devouring widows' houses and who for pretense made long prayers; it was not possible for such a one as Christ to live peaceably with such false pretenders. It did not lie in Washington and his compatriots to live peaceably with the oppressive Government of Great Britain; it was not possible for them to live peaceably with the oppressors of the American colonies. It did not lie in Lincoln to live peaceably with the men who sought to sunder the Union and build an empire in the South with slavery as its corner-stone; if he were loyal to his oath of office, it was not possible for him to live peaceably with those who would be the destroyers of the Nation. "First pure, then peaceable," is a fundamental truth, and it involves another, namely, that purity is the only sure foundation for permanent peace. The relations between Great Britain and America are the relations of a far truer peace than would have been possible had America remained a colony governed in Great Britain without colonial representation. The relations between the North and the South are the relations of a far truer peace to-day than they were in 1850, before the Civil War. Generals Lee and Grant were truer peacemakers than Millard Fillmore and James Buchanan. The compromise-maker is not always a peacemaker. To be a true peacemaker one must know when to abstain from fighting and when to fight.

Blessed is he who has the vision to see the appropriate moment and the tact to intervene successfully in a pending controversy and secure peace; who yields his own rights in non-essentials that he may gain his right to a peaceable

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life with his neighbor; who has in his heart such a spirit of good will to all men, with such a spirit of justice and fair dealing, that he carries with him wherever he goes a peacemaking atmosphere; who has the wisdom to know when compromise and when non-compromising insistence on the right will lead to a permanent peace founded upon righteousness. Such a man is always honored among his fellow-men, because the achievement of such peacemaking is recognized by all men as a divine achievement.

INTO RUSSIA AND OUT OF IT

BY EDWARD A. STEINER

"SHALL I or shall I not?" I did count my buttons many times, and although the oracle told me to go, I must confess that after I held the ticket to St. Petersburg in my hand I experienced that sickening feeling which comes over one when one's courage has been tested to the limit. The feeling of apprehension new to me in facing so familiar a country as Russia was created by the fact that Berlin was crowded by Russians, who came by every train, until on that day, according to the carefully kept records of the police, over ten thousand refugees had arrived. The Friedrichstrasse and Unter den Linden reminded one of the Newsky Prospect or the Twerskaya; for the Russian language had supplanted the German, and for once the Yankee tourist had lost his supremacy.

Moreover, the newspapers were not reassuring, and when one drinks Berlinese coffee ("twelve beans to ten cups"), and reads at the same time of mutinies, pogroms, assassinations bombs, and the black terror, the prospect of a journey into Russia does not appear in a rosy hue.

On the platform of the Friedrichstrasse station four people waited to take the fast train to St. Petersburg, while on the other side the incoming train was crowded to its utmost capacity. With the four going to St. Petersburg was a woman in black, who, pale and trembling, clung to the man with her in a farewell embrace as he, the younger, said tenderly, "Don't worry, little mother," and I, as well as he, needed the comfort of those words.

The journey toward the border, usually very tedious, was enlivened by the fact that we four soon became well acquainted, and that we talked of what we were eager to hear about, Russia. The young man who had said good-by to his mother was going to Wilna. Although he said nothing about his business, one could easily tell that his was a serious errand, and the more I grew acquainted with him the more I avoided his baggage. The other two fellow-passengers, a young couple whose relations seemed to me rather doubtful, were supposed to be going to perform in an Italian circus; but they knew Russian suspiciously well, and I should not have liked to play long with the juggler's balls that were part of their paraphernalia.

It was morning when we crossed that little muddy creek which separates Germany, the land of law and order, from chaotic Russia. All along its marshy banks, far as the eye could reach, the gendarmes rested upon their guns. On the German side of the creek little children were bathing, and filling the air with their laughter. On the other side one looked into the mouths of guns and into the rough, unresponsive faces of armed soldiers.

The examination of our passports and of our baggage was, as usual, a rather long, tedious process, which, however, was made bearable by the fact that for the first time in my life in Russia I heard politics openly discussed by the officials, who moved about with less authority than is their wont (being apprehensive as to their own future); by the train's crew, blatantly and noisily, conscious of a new power—the strike; and, last but not least, by the Jewish tradesmen and

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money-changers, whose very existence depended upon a wise and determined legislative action.

The Russian does not discuss anything calmly or quietly; and to follow such a discussion is difficult when one's ear is attuned to other languages; but I could hear immediately one ever-recurring word—"Duma." I was asked a dozen times, "What do they say *za granicze* [beyond the border] about our Duma?"

Among the crew the engineer seemed the most inquisitive and also the most approachable; and after he heard that I came from America, and knew something about Russian social and economic conditions, he invited me into the cab, an invitation which he did not have to renew. The fireman was engaged in piling wood for the journey, and we two sat together talking, interrupted only when he examined the steam-valve, or when the wood slid from the pile and rumbled into the cab. The engineer was a Socialist, virulent, unreasonable, materialistic, and optimistic enough to believe that before very long the root of all evil, private property, will be done away with. He was ready to fight, and had already fought, for the realization of his dream.

It was just such an argument as one might carry on with a Socialist of the Marxian type in New York or Chicago, with this difference—that on our side of the Atlantic I might get a word in edgewise, while on that side it was a monologue.

The first and second signals for departure had been given, and still the engineer talked politics. "Nothing," he said, "can keep the victory from the proletariat; for the awakening has come, and they know who is the real producer and the real master." The third bell rang, and still he talked politics. The station-master came running out and gesticulatingly called the attention of the engineer to the fact that he was disobeying the rules, first, by permitting me to be in the engine cab, and, second, by delaying the departure of the train; but the only reply he received was the engineer's shrugging his shoulders disdainfully, and saying, "Tschort!" which word in English is usually written without letters.

Russia from a car window, especially the central portion, is never a very cheerful country to travel through, but it seemed to me more melancholy than ever. It is true, the peasants were gathering their scant harvest, as usual, and men and women went undisturbed through the motions of existence; but the peasant looked hungrier and sadder. Especially the Jews, huddled together at the station, seemed a more pitiful sight than ever.

I am trying to recall the scenes I witnessed—the half-naked, poverty-stricken people I saw; the poor, starved-looking children who came climbing up the car steps for kopeks; the women who sat at the stations trying to nurse their babies, which seemed swathed in dirt; the endless rows of patient peasants, men and women, looking at us so pathetically; and, as I recall it, everything blends into one solemn and pathetic picture which I try to forget, but cannot.

The train is not in a hurry, and one can spend from half an hour to an hour at the larger stations, sharing his kopeks and his sympathies, and in return be loaded by pain and gratitude. If the Lord grants me health and years according to the measure in which they were called down upon me in exchange for my small coin, I shall never be in need of doctors or undertakers; and if the curses which I heard uttered are heaped upon the head of him who is held responsible for all this misery, he will not be gathered in peace to his fathers. I would not dare, even under cover of the Russian language, write the name by which they call the Czar, and if he should ever hear it, it will cut him deeper than the thrust of a dagger.

The night still to be spent on the train came upon us without darkness; it was twilight until morning. None of us slept, for at every station peasants were gathered in "meetings" (the English word has crept into the Russian vocabulary); and over and over again we could hear the martial notes of the Marseillaise sung to Russian words of war and freedom, and when they spoke to us they asked, "Kak ye nasha Duma?" (How

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is our Duma?") This was the question repeated over and over.

In the morning we reached St. Petersburg; as usual, the drivers of cabs called out to us their invitation to be driven by them to our destination. Gold-laced porters, whose long coats covered much unwashedness, called our attention to the respective hotels which they represented, and the journey through the well-known streets showed nothing unusual except to one who, like myself, knew the phlegmatic character of the Russian people. Every one seemed nervous; yet that, I thought, may be only the reflection of my own condition. I saw later, however, many evidences that the nervousness really existed. The hotel where I stayed was nearly empty, and the Schwizer, as the hotel clerk is called, began to throw out hints as to what might happen if only the dark nights came. Boots, who was the perfection of politeness as well as of ignorance, wanted to know what news I had read in the papers about the revolution, and how things look to us who live "za granicze." The chambermaid cast a suspicious look at my baggage, and said I must not blame her, because a week ago a maid in another room had blown herself out of existence by carelessly handling the baggage of a stranger.

I was soon upon the street with a dozen addresses to hurl at my driver; but of all the men I wished to see, only two had remained in St. Petersburg. The one was a newspaper correspondent, and the other had become a prisoner in the fortress.

Now on to the Duma. The place itself looked familiar; it has been used for exhibitions and fairs, but never before was it the center of the world's attention. Whatever others have seen in it, to me it was a solemn place, in spite of the fact, or perhaps because of the fact, that human passions had full sway there and the human mind seemed uncontrolled.

For the first time in the history of the country, men dared to talk openly. What of it if they did not reason logically, or attacked their enemies too tempestuously, or did not know just what they wanted? Confusion did reign at times; but where was there not confusion? They may have asked unreasonable things; but who had asked reasonable things of them?

To me the Duma session which I attended was just the kind of session I had expected to attend; it reflected the Russian people, and I believe it also represented them. It did not show the kind of ability displayed by the English Parliament or the German Reichsrath, which was not due alone to the fact that here was really only a beginning, but more largely because the Russian is not an Anglo-Saxon or a German, but a Slav.

Twenty-five years from now Duma sessions will still be stormy and much confusion will reign. Men will ask unreasonably the things for which they ought to ask reasonably, and through much labor and pain they will evolve a parliamentary machine; but it will never run like an English or a German machine.

No one quite knew what the morrow would bring forth, and those who thought they knew were the most mistaken. A little group of us sat at the buffet and drank hot tea, nervously crumbled bread, or chewed the ends of cigarettes; it was the group which knew, and I was permitted to share its secrets. The Czar had called the members of that group to Peterhof, and there told them that he would appoint a liberal Ministry, one which would be responsible to the Duma. The names of the Cabinet members were known, and would satisfy all but the extreme left. The Czar, they said, was eager to save the throne for his son, and willing to sacrifice everything.

I walked about St. Petersburg big from this secret (which I told to everybody), and three days later—the Duma was no more.

It was a fact after all; St. Petersburg was nervous, for no one knew what the morrow would bring forth.

I did not see my friend who was in prison, because I could not get permission from the authorities to visit him; but I saw his wife. Her husband was attending one of his patients when the police came and carried him away prisoner. He was thrown into a room which held two hundred and sixty-five prisoners, in which all the foulness of

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the night had accumulated, and where he had to remain for three days. His wife, by her importunity and the wise use of money, had him transferred to a room which held but forty people, and there he was languishing. He had never been asked a question, nor had he received an answer; his wife told me that he is as innocent of wrong-doing against the Government as is their little child. Stories like hers are so commonplace as to excite but little attention. Nevertheless everybody was nervous, for no one was quite as innocent as a child. Every one was talking politics; every one felt that the conditions were unbearable and that something must be done to bring about a radical change. The streets in the workingmen's quarters were full of agitated men whose whole appearance seemed to have changed. The heavy look was gone from their features, and a restless play of passion had wrought a transformation easy to see but hard to describe. The men were reading newspapers—loose sheets which were flung upon the streets by men who came and went quickly, leaving behind them revolutionary leaven. I heard no careless songs as of yore, I saw less drunkenness, and the men who were drunk were not so harmless as they used to be; for vodka and revolutionary ideas are a vicious mixed drink.

With clenched fist and threatening mien groups of men passed the palaces of General Kuropatkin and General Kaulbars, whose owners had scught a more congenial climate. Nearly all the great officers who fought in the Japanese War have left behind them unsavory reputations, and the populace feels for them only hatred and contempt. Whole blocks of real estate were pointed out to me, the property of army men who acquired them after the war, and if they have stolen only half of that with which the public charges them, they have made good use of their time and opportunities.

St. Petersburg now retires somewhat earlier than usual, for the streets are less safe at night than before. It never grows quiet; the rumbling of carriages on the cobblestones always reminds one of far-away thunder; but to-night the thunder seems nearer and louder, for over the bridges come regiments of artillery, miserable-looking horses drawing brass cannon, and in front of them and behind them the wreckage of the Russian army. They come, planting their cannon on the bridges and on every street corner, while a vast circle of cavalry and still another circle of Cossacks close in around the guns. All night soldiers pour into the city, and the front of my hotel looks like a military camp. No one sleeps, everybody is wondering what will happen next, and everybody is apprehensive. The next thing which does happen is the dissolution of the Duma, and Trepoff is master of the situation.

DIPLOMACY AND FRATERNALISM[1]

A YEAR ago the whole world was ringing and it is still ringing with praise of President Roosevelt. Every day only adds to the value of what he accomplished in the summer of 1905 in fraternally interposing to terminate the struggle between Russia and Japan. In his triumph there was doubtless a large personal element. It is also true, however, that from his fortunate station he was able to speak with an impartial and authoritative benevolence which no other ruler could hope to invoke. This is the opinion of Professor John Bassett Moore, the well-known international law expert, and it is also The Outlook's opinion. The result obtained affords proof not only of personal but of national power. Both kinds of power are best used in the development of fraternalism.

Our national power is not merely material, but moral, the result of the pursuit of those elevated policies that have identified American diplomacy with the cause of freedom and justice. Nothing could be more erroneous, justly says Professor Moore, than the supposition that the United States has, purely as the

[1] *Conciliation Internationale: Les Délégués des Parlements Scandinaves en France.* Préface de M. d'Estournelles de Constant. Librairie Ch. Delagrave, Paris, France.
American Diplomacy. By John Bassett Moore, LL.D. Harper & Bros., New York. $2, net.

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result of certain changes in its habits, suddenly become a world power. We have always been, in the highest sense, a world power, for our achievements have not been those of material force so much as the promulgation of a liberal and fraternal diplomacy.

This is seen in our influence in behalf both of political liberty and of the principle of legality, a dual conception which lay at the foundation of the system of neutrality established during Washington's Administration, and which also forms the basis of the practice of arbitration, auspiciously begun at the same time.

With insistence on that principle, our diplomatic methods have been distinguished, first, by practicality, and, second, by simplicity. As exemplified by the lamented John Hay and by the present efficient Secretary of State, these principles, namely, liberty and legality, and these methods, namely, practicality and simplicity, have advanced the country materially and morally—materially, because with them we have acquired, despite our freedom from territorial ambition, a domain almost five times as great as the endowment with which we began our National career; morally, because America has become an increasing factor not only in the "Concert of Europe," but in that wider concert which embraces all civilized parts, having a force irresistible enough to attain the result already mentioned in fraternally terminating the most gigantic war of modern times.

With these things in mind, it is a satisfaction to every student of American diplomacy to add a valuable volume to the shelf which already contains ex-Secretary Foster's "A Century of American Diplomacy" and "American Diplomacy in the Orient," Latané's "The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America," Henderson's "American Diplomatic Questions," and other books. "American Diplomacy," by the Professor of International Law in Columbia University, comprises a survey, among other things, of the beginnings of our diplomatic service, and of its present influence and tendencies, together with chapters on the system of neutrality, the freedom of the seas, the fisheries question, the contest with commercial restrictions, the Monroe Doctrine, the doctrine of expatriation, and international arbitration.

Regarding the system of neutrality, Professor Moore does not fail to call attention to the fact that one radical limitation to belligerent activities, though often urged, has not yet been adopted—the inhibition of the capture of private property at sea. We hope that Secretary Root's efforts through the American delegation at the forthcoming Hague Conference in the direction of this particular form of fraternalism will be crowned with success. As President Roosevelt says, the exemption of private property at sea, except as to contraband of war, should be advocated not only as a matter of "humanity and morals," but also as a measure altogether compatible with the practical conduct of war at sea.

Referring to commercial restrictions, Professor Moore justly chronicles Secretary Hay's celebrated circular of July 3, 1900, as the admirable summary of what has been conceded to be the cardinal principle of American policy in the Far East—a policy of fraternalism, if ever there were one. During the military advance of the Powers for the relief of their beleaguered legations in Peking, John Hay, alone of foreign secretaries, courageously and with statesmanlike foresight declared for a policy which should bring "permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaties and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." Whether the "open door" policy would have been furthered or not by a continuance of the American control of the Canton-Hankau railway we are not informed. "In the acquisition of the Philippines the United States declared its purpose to maintain in those islands 'an open door to the world's commerce.' The phrase 'an open door' is, of course, but a condensed expression of 'the principle of equal and impartial trade' for all nations."

Most readers will turn at once to the chapter on the Monroe Doctrine as containing something suggestive in the inter-

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pretation of that famous policy, which is, in essence, a policy of fraternalism towards the Latin republics by the Great Republic. Mr. Moore records the fact that to its explicit acceptance by Great Britain and Germany there may be added the declaration which was put by unanimous consent upon the minutes of the Hague Conference, that nothing therein contained should be so construed as to require the United States "to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign State," or to relinquish "its traditional attitude toward purely American questions." The latest application of the Monroe Doctrine is that which President Roosevelt has made in the case of Santo Domingo. On February 15, 1905, he transmitted to the Senate a treaty concluded at Santo Domingo City on the 7th of the same month, under which the United States agreed to undertake the adjustment of all Dominican debts, foreign and domestic, and to that end to administer the custom-houses. Those who profit by the Monroe Doctrine must, the President justly affirms, accept certain responsibilities along with the rights which it confers. Of course the justification for assuming responsibility at Santo Domingo is the absurdity of our refusing to allow other Powers to take the only means at their disposal for satisfying the claims of their citizens and yet refusing ourselves to take any such steps. The Senate's failure to ratify the Santo Domingo treaty, however, we would add, leaves the fiscal affairs of that island decidedly in the air. Yet there appears to be no other course than to continue the present arrangement, we acting as temporary receiver for the ultimate benefit of the creditors of the island, pending action on the original treaty. What would we do, however, should Santo Domingo and the assenting creditor nations demand that the money be transferred to the Dominican authorities on the ground that a reasonable time for action had elapsed?

Most interesting of all, however, is Professor Moore's chapter on arbitration, illuminated as it is by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant's "Conciliation Internationale," recounting the reception given in Paris to the delegates from the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Parliaments. The distinguished propagandist of international arbitration shows, first, that it assures social solidarity among the nations, and, next, that it assures a real commercial as well as social gain to France, who, by espousal of the cause, solely from international considerations, would also increase the number of her clients and friends, and consequently multiply her wealth and influence. The more a country responds to the spirit of peoples for internationalism and fraternalism, the more difficult it will be for other countries to attack it without raising against them a just, popular, and general resentment. These facts are now so well appreciated in France, we are glad to say, that at the recent senatorial elections there was hardly a candidate who did not deem it politic to satisfy the inquiries of his constituents by some declaration favorable to arbitration.

M. d'Estournelles himself replies to critics who fear that the policy of Germany constitutes the one check to the progress of international arbitration, by acutely pointing out the Kaiser's attitude in demanding an international conference to regulate the Moroccan situation. Nothing could be a more real support to the principle which has found such wide expression, we would add, than the emphasis justly laid by William II. upon the "open door" in Morocco and the rights of all the signatory Powers of a previous treaty concerning Morocco to have a voice in the shaping of new provisions affecting that misgoverned land, now increasingly under French influence and control.

As to the attitude of the Scandinavian countries on the question of international arbitration, there is, of course, no doubt. Public opinion in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden has long been molded by an admirably broad outlook, by deliberation and self-restraint. Hence, not only was the separation of Norway and Sweden a year ago accomplished without a war, but in the resultant treaty the two nations made an unprecedented agree-

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ment—to submit all their differences to the Hague International Tribunal. The accomplishment within a year of the avoidance of war and the framing of such a treaty reflects imperishable glory on the Scandinavian peoples. It was indeed fitting that delegates from their Parliaments should follow those from the British Parliament in a visit to Paris in the interests of international arbitration and fraternalism. Paris is becoming a natural center for such gatherings, as is proper when we reflect on the two decades of propaganda started by MM. Jules Simon and Frédéric Passy, and now represented most actively by the distinguished author of the present volume, Senator d'Estournelles, who is, as well, the president of the French parliamentary group on international arbitration.

Our own sympathy for international arbitration and fraternalism this year is specially marked because of the third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro and the approaching Hague Conference. It was indeed worth while for Mr. Moore to recount our honorable history regarding these conferences. In 1881 Secretary Blaine extended, in the President's name, an invitation to all the independent countries of North and South America to participate in a general congress to be held in Washington in November, 1882, "for the purpose of considering and discussing methods of preventing war between the nations of America." Action upon this proposal was postponed chiefly because of the continuance of the Chilean-Peruvian war, but the project was never entirely relinquished, and in 1888 the President gave his approval to the act under which was convoked the International American Conference of 1889–1890. Of this conference a chief result was the celebrated plan of arbitration by which it was declared that arbitration, as a means of settling disputes between American republics, was adopted "as a principle of American international law;" that arbitration should be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, territories, indemnities, the right of navigation, and the validity, construction, and enforcement of treaties; and that it should be equally obligatory in all other cases, whatever might be their origin, nature, or object, with the sole exception of those which, in the judgment of one of the nations involved in the controversy, might imperil its independence, but that, even in this case, while arbitration for that nation should be optional, it should be "obligatory upon the adversary Power." The subject of general arbitration between American nations, which remained in abeyance after the Washington Conference of 1890, was again taken up by the second International Conference of American States, which met at the City of Mexico on October 22, 1901. A plan was finally adopted, in the nature of a compromise.

As to the Hague Conference of 1899, the most notable achievement, according to Professor Moore, was the convention for the peaceful adjustment of international differences. The convention embraces stipulations, first, as to mediation, and, secondly, as to arbitration. In the part relating to mediation, the signatory Powers agree that, in case of "grave difference of opinion or conflict," they will, before appealing to arms, have recourse, "as far as circumstances permit," to the good offices of one or more friendly Powers, and that such Powers even may of their own motion offer mediation, without incurring the odium of performing an unfriendly act. The functions of the mediator are, however, declared to be purely conciliatory, and his recommendations "advisory" and not "obligatory." In the part relating to arbitration, the object is declared to be "the settlement of disputes between nations by judges of their own choice and in accordance with their reciprocal rights," and arbitration is recognized as specially applicable to questions of law and of the interpretation and execution of treaties, which cannot be settled by diplomacy. Of this plan the basal feature is, as Professor Moore points out, what is called the permanent Court of Arbitration, constituted by the designation by each of the signatory Powers of not more than four persons "recognized as competent to deal with questions of international law, and of the highest personal integrity." The persons so designated,

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who are known as "members of the court," constitute a list from which any of the signatory Powers, in the event of a controversy, may, if they see fit to do so, choose a tribunal for the decision of the particular case. To the existence of this convention is, no doubt, as both Professor Moore and Baron d'Estournelles point out, to be ascribed the recent remarkable agreement between Great Britain and Russia for the settlement, by means of a mixed court of inquiry, of the Dogger Bank incident—an incident which in other days would have infallibly provoked war. But force is now yielding to fraternalism.

Comment on Current Books

Buchanan's Wife

This novel has elements of strength in spite of its many vulnerable points. It is the old story of mismating and the revival of an early love; and the mysterious disappearance of the morose and tyrannical husband to whom the young Mrs. Buchanan has been sold creates a situation in which there are emotional possibilities. The scenes between Mrs. Buchanan and Harry Faring are handled with considerable power and dignity; their relation forms the real theme of the story. All of the action involving the husband is unreal. From an artistic standpoint his presence or absence, his very existence, stand simply for various degrees of moral pressure brought to bear on the character of his wife. The melodramatic episodes connected with his disappearance and reappearance are curiously vague and unconvincing. The weakness of the book lies in its confusion of two literary methods, one objective and melodramatic, the other an analysis of character and its development—a method pre-eminently modern. Through this confusion the story loses toward the end, failing to sustain the interest controlled with such assurance in the first half of the volume. (Buchanan's Wife. By James Miles Forman. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Christian Missions and Social Progress

Social progress is an attractive subject nowadays. Much of it is manifest in our own country, even within the memory of an average life. Much more of it is manifest in lands where Christian institutions are of recent planting. What Christian institutions have done for it among men of our own race has been spread over centuries, and so is less striking than what has been accomplished in a far shorter time in non-Christian lands by missions transplanting thither the product gradually evolved here. The volumes exhibiting this constitute an irrefragable vindication of Christianity against all skepticism, refined or vulgar. The religion that the world needs, and will ultimately embrace, is the religion that proves most efficient for social betterment. The present volume, concluding the series, presents a world-wide summary of the manifold social betterments achieved by Christian missions during the past century. These are seen in the fruits of mental and moral enlightenment, the improvement of law and government, of commercial and industrial life, the bettering of international relations, and the purifying of religious faith and practice. The range is cyclopædic, the details multitudinous and interesting throughout, and the book is enriched with several hundred fine illustrations. Altogether, this is a unique work, without which no reference library can be considered complete. Editorial libraries need it to prevent those strange displays of ignorance concerning Christian missions that sometimes disgrace even the metropolitan press. Foreign missions have stimulated home missions in the past, and may stimulate them more. The record made here of what the foreign missionary has done to introduce better methods of transacting business, to promote legal reform, to solve grave problems of industrial adjustment, suggests a field of activity at home that the Church now needs to redeem from some neglect. (Christian Missions and Social Progress. By Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $2.50, net.)

Dearlove

Precocious little girls in books as well as out of them need to be handled with great tact and delicacy, and the interpreter of "Dearlove" is somewhat too insistent in her appeal to the reader's admiration. "Dearlove" is undoubtedly a remarkable child, and the rejuvenation of those about her through her bubbling vitality shapes itself into a very pretty theme, but the gay little character loses the quality of fascination through repetition and over-emphasis, just as the pathetic element in the story is sometimes forced. It is difficult to describe the difference between the assertion which leaves one cold and the suggestion which

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transmits the feeling of gayety or tenderness —the touch of Dr. Brown, for instance, in his loving and inimitable record of Marjorie Fleming. (Dearlove: The History of her Summer's Makebelieve. By Frances Campbell. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The Fighting Chance Mr. Chambers has written many successful stories, and in not a few veins: "The Fighting Chance" is as different from "Cardigan," for instance, as that romance is from "Iole," or as the last named is from "A King and a Few Dukes." But all four and many others from his pen have the common quality of vigorous writing. It is extremely probable, we should say, that "The Fighting Chance" will be one of the most widely read novels of the season; for it has constant movement and sustains cleverly to the end the suspense that comes from an unsolved love problem. There are many characters, some of them types of New York society, and two or three, one may suspect, partly drawn from the life. The picture of the vulgarity, sensuousness, and in three or four cases gross depravity of this crowd of pleasure-seekers and money-worshipers is depressing. One feels that the artist has used too coarse and glaring colors to depict his contemporaries, and that the exception is made to appear the rule. Thus, while the novel may be at heart no more pessimistic, socially speaking, than Mrs. Wharton's "The House of Mirth," it lacks the delicate perception and fine literary shading of that searching analysis. "The Fighting Chance" as a story has rude vitality, and grips even the jaded novel-reader's attention; but it is too feverish, and sometimes too bold in its realism to please the reader's finest sense of literary taste. (The Fighting Chance. By Robert W. Chambers. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

George Farquhar's Plays An addition to the Mermaid Series. Four out of Farquhar's six plays are included. Mr. Archer, without denying the witty coarseness of the plays, urges in defense not only the custom of the day, but his belief that Farquhar "admitted a moral standard, and subjected moral convention, not to mere cynical persiflage, but to the criticism of reason." (George Farquhar's Plays. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by William Archer. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1, net.)

The German Workman In this volume William Harbutt Dawson gives an account of what the State is doing for the working classes in Germany. The book is a history, not an argument; a book of information, not of philosophy. The reader will rise from the perusal of it impressed by the fact that the least democratic State in western Europe is also, at least in one sense of the term, the most socialistic State. It provides bureaus for those who are seeking employment, insures against worklessness, affords relief for wandering workers—that is, for men who have become tramps because they are seeking employment, not because they are fleeing from it—organizes labor colonies, chiefly agricultural, to provide employment and sustenance for the workless, provides housing for the working classes, etc. The book contains twenty-two chapters, each chapter devoted to a specific department of State provision of one sort or another for workingmen. There is much in this method which America could not adopt, but there are certainly some things in it which Americans could study with advantage and perhaps in a modified form employ to advantage. (The German Workman. By William Harbutt Dawson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.)

The Incomplete Amorist Under this singular title Mrs. Bland (whose charming and humorous stories of child life have made her pseudonym well known on both sides of the Atlantic) gives us a study of an accomplished and refined male flirt who plays the game of love with counters only to find that at last he must pay with gold. Contrasted with this superfine trifler is a straightforward, even impulsive, English girl whose common sense and simple innocence carry her through some trying experiences in her girl artist life in Paris. The story has movement, variety, and originality. Its situations are sometimes a little improbable and there are bits that one could have wished written differently, but it has the great affirmative merit that it never bores the reader. (The Incomplete Amorist. By E. Nesbit. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Leonardo da Vinci As Mr. Hind remarks, Leonardo da Vinci found in drawing the readiest and most stimulating way of self-expression. One welcomes with pleasure the extremely clear and fine renderings of some fifty of the drawings in this volume. The critical study by Mr. Hind is discriminating and sympathetic. (Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci. C. Lewis Hind. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.)

The Lion and the Mouse Any one who has witnessed the successful performance of this thoroughly delightful play will find the present novel somewhat

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inadequate as an expression of the theme, but the story as given here may interest those unfamiliar with the dramatic production. It is written in an unpretentious manner, "novelized from the play," to use the language of the title page, embodying in the principal scenes much of the bright stage dialogue. Mr. Klein, who first endeared himself to the public through his creation of the "Music Master," has something to say. He writes from an observation of human nature; his types are real. And the American public has testified to its warm appreciation of this kind of work. "The Lion and the Mouse" is an interpretation of American life. This is the situation, briefly: A multi-millionaire, the most formidable figure in the financial world, is about to effect the impeachment of a judge whose decisions have been turned against him. The son of this financial magnate has fallen in love with the daughter of this judge. And the further dramatic complication arises from the fact that the girl has written a book based largely on the character of this "commercial pirate," attacking the methods by which such fortunes are amassed. The solution of the plot implies that the better attributes are latent in the most unscrupulous materialist. The novel rather more than the play develops a socialistic theory, but the book, as a separate performance, lacks the vitality and sharp characterization which make the play successful. (The Lion and the Mouse. By Charles Klein. Novelized from the Play by Arthur Hornblow. G. W. Dillingham Company, New York. $1.50.)

Mr. Bryan on "Letters from a Chinese Official"

Mr. Bryan has taken too seriously the skit of Mr. Lowe Dickinson, the "Letters from a Chinese Official." He evidently was deceived into the belief that a Chinese official really wrote these letters, and has treated them as a serious expression of Chinese opinion. It was hardly worth while to direct so serious an argument against so evident a satire. (Letters to a Chinese Official. Being a Western View of an Eastern Civilization. By William Jennings Bryan. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.)

Mary Magdalen

The story of Mary Magdalen as it stands in the New Testament, charged with spiritual significance, brief and eloquent in its suggestion, can hardly be expanded without loss of power. The present writer, supplying descriptions of costumes and of places, has endeavored to produce a realistic narrative, failing to recognize that the realism in such a drama lies in its profound humanity—which suffers at every point in his interpretation. In order to gather the material into a more definite plot he imagines more intimate relations to exist between the various personalities; the love of Judas for Mary is made to serve as a motive for his treachery. But the characters are vague and lifeless, in spite of the attempt at a more complete development. The life of Jesus is presented without irreverence, but it is entirely inadequate as an expression of the Christ whose love illuminated the spiritual sense of Mary. (Mary Magdalen: A Chronicle. By Edgar Saltus. Mitchell Kinnerley, New York. $1, net.)

Richard the Brazen

The tone of this novel will not commend it to those who appreciate work of the first order. It is the story of a rather strident young Texan who falls in love with the daughter of a New York financier, rescuing her from a stampede of cattle on the Texan range, pursuing her to her home on the banks of the Hudson, and winning her through sheer audacity. There is a direct conflict between the financial interests of the hero's father, a Southern promoter, and those of the New York magnate, so that the young Texan is forced to disguise his identity during the courtship, availing himself of a certain accident in which his name is confused with that of an English nobleman. (Richard the Brazen. By Cyrus Townsend Brady and Edward Peple. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Scarlett of the Mounted

It is impossible to read this romance of the Klondike without feeling that it is especially adapted to the conventions of the stage. The characters are related according to the formula of a well-constructed play, and the action abounds in dramatic points and climaxes. The dialogue suggests the footlights, and the humor is of a sort that promptly associates itself with "business." But it is a fairly good story in its present form, in spite of a touch of unreality, and the reader will be interested in this northern mining district which "contains an unsurveyed number of square miles and crooked inhabitants," according to "Scarlett of the Mounted," who has come with the law behind him to establish some kind of order. The heroine of the story is the daughter of an old miner, a supercilious young lady decidedly bettered by her sojourn at the mines. And the plot is brought to a happy ending after various ingenious complications. (Scarlett of the Mounted. By Marguerite Merington. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $1.25.)

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Letters to The Outlook

INHERITANCE TAXES

I desire to say a few words in regard to the inheritance tax, which appears to be agitating the public mind since the President's remarks on the subject.

We have an inheritance tax law in Minnesota which has been upheld by our Supreme Court, not as a tax, but as a license fee for the right to inherit, our State Constitution having provided that all taxes shall be equal.

The first maxim of taxation as laid down by Adam Smith is, "That the subjects of every State should contribute toward the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." The question arises, Is the right to inherit a natural right, or is it a right granted by the legislature? The essential conceptions which entered into the Roman system of succession were the following: Upon the death of a proprietor, his physical being alone died. His legal or juridical person survived and passed to another individual, who became the representative, as it were the continuation, of the defunct, called the "heir." The entire mass of property and other rights held by the deceased, and the entire mass of legal entity, was a *universum jus*, and constituted the inheritance. This inheritance passed to and vested in the heir, and its passage to and acquisition by him was the succession. The essential notion of a succession consisted, therefore, in there being no change in the legal subject, in the relations, rights, and liabilities, but only in the individual to whom that subject and those rights and duties attached. The heir succeeded to the deceased, prolonged his legal existence, and perpetuated his legal condition. The heir thus inherited all the property and claims of the defunct and became chargeable with all his liabilities.

After the Code and Pandects had been completed, the Emperor Justinian, in the 115th, 118th, and 127th Novels, remodeled the whole system, without, however, abandoning the fundamental conceptions upon which it was based. Although the common-law doctrine of descents and inheritance of land was derived from the feudal institutions, the English statutes of distribution, which regulate the succession to personal property, were largely patterned after this late legislation of the Roman Emperor. The English statutes have in substance, although with variations in detail, been generally adopted throughout the American States.

It is a legal principle that no man can make another his heir, since heirship exists independently of any individual creation and depends solely upon the ties of nature and the established rules of law. Gibbon, in the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Chapter XLIV., commenting on the Roman inheritance law, makes use of the following language:

> The personal title of the first proprietor must be determined by his death, but the possession without any appearance of change is peaceably continued in his children, the associates of his toil and partners of his wealth. This *natural* inheritance has been protected by the legislatures of every climate and age, and the father is encouraged to persevere in slow and distant improvements by the tender hope that a long posterity will enjoy the fruits of his labor. The *principle* of hereditary succession is *universal*, but the order has been variously established by convenience or caprice. The jurisprudence of the Romans appears to have deviated from the equality of nature much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen all his descendants were called to the inheritance of his possessions.

During all the wars and struggles for existence of the Roman Empire, only at one time was an inheritance tax resorted to, and that was when a barbarian, with the aid of the army, had usurped the throne, and as soon as the legitimate heir to the throne succeeded him the tax was abolished.

Where the testator has paid all the taxes on his property, is it not double taxation to charge the heir a license fee to take it by inheritance, or, in other words, is it not confiscation pure and simple?

My conclusion is that the right to inherit is not granted to us by the legislative enactment, although it may be regulated thereby; that it is a natural right, coming down to us with the mutations that belong to the lapse of ages, and will survive as long as civilization exists upon the earth, and that in the absence of any legislation the heir has an inherent and common-law right to inherit, and to charge him a license fee in addition to the regular taxes on the property is confiscation. To say that he should have a license to inherit is equivalent to saying that he should have a license to breathe the free air of heaven.

F. E. BAKER.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

A REQUEST

The College Committee of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew is anxious to get the full name, home address, and full college or

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school address of every church man or boy who intends to enter any college or boarding-school in the United States this autumn, and to know as to each whether he is baptized, confirmed, and a communicant. The information is to be given to the college chapter of the Brotherhood, the college church society, or the rector of the nearest parish, so as to diminish as far as possible the number of young men who are annually lost to the Church, and too often to any religious influences, in the transition from home or church influences to college or boarding-school. Parents and rectors will confer a great favor on us, and, we hope, be of great service to their sons or parishioners, if they will give us the fullest and promptest information. We especially desire the exact address of the young man's future room in college, because in the larger colleges it is some weeks after the term begins before a particular man can be found easily unless his room is known.

FRANCIS M. ADAMS,
Corresponding Secretary.
88 Broad Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

WORKING-GIRLS' VACATION SOCIETY

Last winter the capacity of the Working-Girls' Vacation Society was enlarged by the gift of a beautifully situated house at Cobalt, Connecticut, on high ground and with a lovely view of the Connecticut River. It is large enough to accommodate eighteen girls. This house was launched upon its career of usefulness two or three years ago. It is a memorial to a loved sister, and had been carried on by the one who gave it; but her health was not equal to the strain, and she looked about for a society fitted to be the custodian of the memorial cottage. Her choice fell upon the Working-Girls' Vacation Society, which gladly accepted the trust, and hopes faithfully to carry on the good work. There was much additional furniture needed, and this was kindly provided by two sisters, who generously arranged for all that was necessary. We had also hoped to have the necessary funds given us to meet the summer expenses, but were disappointed in this, and we now would ask some of our kind friends if they will help us out so that this "Breezy Corner" cottage may be able to meet its own expenses when we close the season. It has been a happy resting-place for many girls this summer, and we have opened it feeling that funds would come to us by the autumn that would enable us to close our year's work with our usual good fortune of no deficit, even if our balance has been very small.

Our other seven houses have been very full, and particularly have our Santa Clara houses in the Adirondacks done the best season's work on record. We have sent more short-time girls there this season than ever before, which means giving them a month of splendid air, tonic and bracing, which we have found in many years' experience to be the best and most satisfactory *preventive* work that can be done. * *

[The Outlook has often spoken of the efficient and excellent work of this Society, and again commends it to the attention of generous readers. The Secretary may be addressed at the General Office, 361 West Fourth Street, New York City.—THE EDITORS.]

BOOKS ON SOCIALISM

Would you favor us with a list of half a dozen books which would aid us in our study of Socialism in our men's club? *

[For a study of Christ's teaching on social questions: Francis D. Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," and Lyman Abbott, "Christianity and Social Problems." For an indictment of the present social and industrial system: Thomas Kirkup, "An Inquiry into Socialism." For an encyclopædic account of Socialistic movements: William Graham, "Socialism, New and Old." For an interesting and readable advocacy of Socialism: Émile de Laveleye, "Socialism of To-Day." For the history of industrial progress in America: Carroll D. Wright, "Industrial Evolution in the United States." For the history of the movement for peaceful settlement of labor difficulties: Josephine Shaw Lowell, "Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation."—THE EDITORS.]

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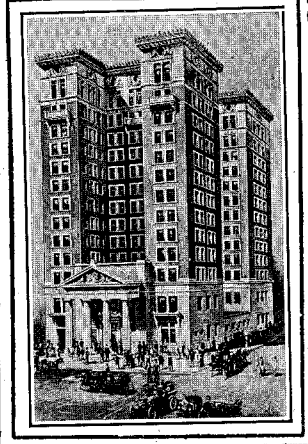

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To Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, Black Hills and many other western points, from Chicago, on the 1st and 3rd Tuesdays of each month.

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NW 98

KEEP a file of The Outlook. It is valuable for reference. A handsome Binder in jade-green cloth, with gilt side stamp, will be sent postpaid on receipt of FORTY CENTS, by The Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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HOW MANY OF US?

Fail to Select Food Nature Demands to Ward Off Ailments

A Ky. lady, speaking about food, says: "I was accustomed to eating all kinds of ordinary food until, for some reason, indigestion and nervous prostration set in.

"After I had run down seriously my attention was called to the necessity of some change in my diet, and I discontinued my ordinary breakfast and began using Grape-Nuts with a good quantity of rich cream.

"In a few days my condition changed in a remarkable way, and I began to have a strength that I had never been possessed of before, a vigor of body and a poise of mind that amazed me. It was entirely new in my experience.

"My former attacks of indigestion had been accompanied by heat flashes, and many times my condition was distressing with blind spells of dizziness, rush of blood to the head, and neuralgic pains in the chest.

"Since using Grape-Nuts alone for breakfast I have been free from these troubles, except at times when I have indulged in rich, greasy foods in quantity, then I would be warned by a pain under the left shoulder blade, and unless I heeded the warning the old trouble would come back, but when I finally got to know where these troubles originated I returned to my Grape-Nuts and cream and the pain and disturbance left very quickly.

"I am now in prime health as a result of my use of Grape-Nuts." Name given by Postum Co., Battle Creek, Mich.

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Saving accounts—large and small—invested with the Industrial Savings and Loan Co. are yielding 5% per year.

This is a little better than most small investors are receiving—but no more than your money should earn.

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It explains how we can make at remarkably low prices any of these handsome designs **to your order** from measurements taken at home.

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During the past eighteen years over 450,000 discriminating women, many of whom were so difficult to fit that they could not be suited elsewhere, have solved all their dressmaking troubles by having their garments made by us. What we have done for thousands of others we certainly can do for you.

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New Fall Skirts	**$3.50 to $15.00**
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When You Look in Your Mirror

Are You Satisfied?

Any Woman Can Have Good Health, a Refined Face and Good Figure

Susanna Cocroft

You will doubtless take up some special study this year—why not study to make yourself perfect in health and figure with a clear brain that you may be useful, attractive and a source of pleasure to your family, to your friends and to yourself?

Over 19,000 Women are Studying Themselves

Many a woman has surprised her husband and friends by giving 15 minutes a day in the privacy of her own room to special directions which I give her for the care of health, face and figure. I study each woman's case just as a physician studies it, the only difference being that I strengthen and put in place weakened organs by exercise for nerves and muscles controlling such organs, bring a good circulation of warm, pure blood which I purify by teaching correct breathing and by prescribing the special diet, bathing, etc., adapted to each individual. I strengthen ***all your vital organs, lungs, heart, nerve*** centers and send your blood bounding through your veins as when a child. I ***develop*** or ***reduce your figure*** to correct proportions. I teach you to stand and to walk with an ease and dignity which at once bespeak culture and refinement.

My Method

Every figure ***can be rounded*** out ***symmetrically*** unless bones are missing or tissues entirely wasted away, and the woman who carries from 20 to 100 pounds of ***superfluous flesh*** every time she moves has my sympathy—but she does not need to do so—and surely it is every woman's privilege and duty to keep herself attractive and pleasing.

Clear Skin and a Good Figure

You Can Be Well Without Drugs

Drugs may relieve pain but they do not remove the cause of your difficulty. As women approach or pass middle life, they need more care in keeping a good circulation and the use of every faculty, so they may be useful and a pleasure to self and family. I have hundreds of pupils over 70 and a few over 80. Here are a few extracts from my morning mail:

I Keep Women Young

Miss Cocroft at Her Desk

What My Pupils Say of My Work:

"My weight has increased thirty pounds."
"My kidneys are much better."
"My eyes are stronger and I have taken off my glasses."
"I have not had a sign of gall stones since I began your work."
"I weigh 83 lbs. less, and have gained wonderfully in strength."
"I am delighted with the effect of the exercise upon my catarrh."
"Just think of it! To be relieved from constipation. Entirely free after having it for 30 years."
"Have grown from a nervous wreck into a state of good, quiet nerves."

I will send you my little booklet on how to stand and to walk, free—every woman should have this, and if you will fill out the enclosed coupon I will tell you what I can do for you and I will send you extracts of letters from my pupils if I have helped similar cases. I do not give the name of a pupil unless she has given me permission to do so; every woman's letter is held in strict confidence. I will not work with you unless I feel I can help you. My advice and information in regard to my work are free. I wish you could read the reports from my pupils for one day—they would do your heart good, as they do mine.

My Booklet Free

SUSANNA COCROFT, Dept. 8, 57 Washington Street, CHICAGO

Author of "Growth in Silence," "Character as Expressed in the Body," Etc.

For details about MY PERSONAL INSTRUCTION mark with (XX) on blank below, opposite the points MOST IMPORTANT in your case and mark (O) opposite those which also interest you.

If there are any particulars in regard to your case which I should know, write about them fully and I will frankly tell you, without charge, what I can do for you.

Dept. 8

Thin bust
Thin chest
Thin arms
Thin neck
Round shouldered
Superfluous flesh
Prominent hips
Protruding abdomen
Height
Weight
Do you stand correctly
Complexion
Do you walk gracefully
Weakness
Lame back
Dullness
Irritable
Nerves
Headaches
Catarrh
Dizziness
Indigestion
Constipation
Liver
Kidneys
Lungs
Heart
Throat
Colds
Rheumatism
Circulation
Blood
Is your health or figure imperfect in any way not mentioned here?
Occupation?
What is your age?
Married or Single?

Name.....

Address.....

Fill out, cut off and mail this blank—NOW!

NOTE: Miss Cocroft, as President of Physical Culture Extension Work in America, needs no further introduction

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